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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1927

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

We have met together to-day to pay tribute to the memory of one of the greatest sons of Bengal. We read of mortals who receive gifts from the gods at their birth but in the case of the late Sir Asutosh, Mother Bengal opened her treasury and gave to him her best. She gave to his brains the fertility of her own soil, to his soul the ardour of her noon-day sun, to his heart the gentleness of her soft southern breeze, and to his mind the loftiness and calm strength of the great Himalayas. And as he grew up we can imagine the mind of Sir Asutosh acquiring its vast expansiveness, its power to dream, its clarity from the subtle influence of the illimitable plains of Bengal dreaming in the noon-day hush or stretching forth each object distinctly outlined by the clear pure rays of the moon. His nature showed the same luxury of growth as the soil of Bengal, and if a few rank and wanton weeds crept in, it was only the excess of a too generous nature and perhaps it is these very weeds that made him so lovable and human and endeared him to many.

Thus from the very beginning Bengal marked him out as her own, and is it not because he was so truly a Bengali that his name evokes an answering echo in every Bengali heart? I do not, however, indicate that Sir Asutosh was less of an Indian and a cosmopolitan because he was so truly a Bengali. On the contrary he was a better representative of both the former because he was so good a representative of the latter and to the end of his days Sir Asutosh laboured in the cause of the mother who had given him so much. It is true Sir Asutosh's way of serving her was not the common way, Sir Asutosh would not have been Sir Asutosh if it had been so—but it was none the less effective, for who can deny that he was one of the great forces of Bengal of the present day, and will not his name go down to history as one of our great nation builders.

There has been much speculation of what would have happened had Sir Asutosh with his great force of character, his executive ability, his constructive genius and political acumen led Bengal in its fight for national freedom. Perhaps he would have been more popular had he done so. But when a man of his clarity of vision and dauntless courage, deliberately chooses another sphere for his activities, he does not do so unless he considers the object worthy of his effort. We are too apt to condemn those who keep aloof from the whirlpool of politics as selfish and unpatriotic. There are many who would even have our poet Rabindranath wear a loincloth and enter the political arena, not seeing that it would be just as mad to try and harness a beautiful singing bird to the plough. A subject race is bound to be politics-ridden, but even a subject race cannot live by politics alone—nay, political nationalism is bound to suffer if the spiritual and cultural background is neglected. And Sir Asutosh was (as Rabindranath is in a different way) a moulder of this spiritual background, an exponent of, and a combatant in, the cause of cultural nationalism. Just as Rabindranath, the wizard poet of Bengal, with his magic wand of words and tunes, is forging a golden chain of poesy and song which is binding us ever closer to our dear motherland, so Sir Asutosh with his iron will, his great courage, stood stemming the tide of Westernisation and narrow officialdom in our University where the mental background of the youth of Bengal is fashioned, and broadened its foundations to include almost the whole of our middle-class population. It was Sir Asutosh's aim to popularise education by offering higher education as a bait to an increasingly larger number of students. Whether this did indeed lower the standard of University education is a point hotly debated. My own personal opinion is that the whole educational tradition was so bad that increasing the number of passes was immaterial. Education from the very start has in our country been prostituted to clerk-manufacturing purposes, and unless the attitude of both the educational authorities and the public changes it will be impossible to improve the standard of higher education. The number of failures in the Madras University is phenomenal but are the applicants for the clerical and legal professions any less, or is there any difference in the cultural level of a Madras and Bengal graduate ? Again the number of failures in British Universities is exceedingly small and the percentage of people getting higher education in America exceedingly high, yet the cultural level in both countries is maintained. Thus we see that the arguments of Sir Asutosh's opponents are not very deep.

In Sir Asutosh Bengal got the rare combination of a dreamer and a man of action. Nature must indeed have been in a happy mood when she formed him, for she seems to take a curious delight in making the Don Quixotes of this world tilt against windmills and the Sancho Panzas blunder through the world without once so much as viewing the ideal. But Sir Asutosh could dream his dreams and yet cope with all the difficulties of giving practical shape to his dreams. . Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen tells us, how though it was one of his most cherished desires, he would not hear of introducing Bengali for the M.A. till he had first encouraged scientific research on the subject, which had resulted in histories of the language and literature, philological works, etc.

A great mind invests all it touches with something of its own greatness. It was Sir Asutosh's forceful mind and ardent nationalism which made University politics a great national issue. When his mighty voice gave utterance to his great speech ending with the famous dictum, "Freedom First, Freedom Second, Freedom always,'' was not Bengal thrilled to the core ? The retention of the Post-Graduate classes, their freedom from bureaucratic control, became a point of national honour, which had to be defended at all costs. Again if it is the national leaders who first gave Bengali a *status quo* in public life, if it is Rabindranath who gave it a *status quo* in the literature of the world, it is Sir Asutosh and Sir Asutosh alone to whom belongs the honour of giving it a *status quo* in the academic world.

If then we ask why it was that Sir Asutosh's nationalism was bounded by the University, the answer is that it was his sincere belief that if Freedom was to be won the movement must start and be guided by the intellectuals of the country. It was only in the Universities that this training could be given. The University must, therefore, become a national institution free from the iron grip of the bureaucracy. That he was not far wrong the history both of the French and the Russian revolutions shows us. It was in the Universities of Russia that Bolshevism was first dreamed of and it was Russian students and not serfs who were the first martyrs.

It would need a big volume to sum up all the gifts and accomplishments of so richly endowed a nature. I shall, therefore, end with a quotation from Rabindranath who in his usual manner touches the very mainspring of Sir Asutosh's accomplishments :

''Asutosh touched the Calcutta University with the magic wand of his creative will in order to transform it into a living organism, belonging to the life of the Bengali people. This was his gift to his country, but it is a gift of endeavour, of *Tapasya,* which will reach its fulfilment only if we know how to accept it.''

I appeal to the youth of Bengal for whose uplift Sir Asutosh spent his best energies, whom he loved with all the strength of his great heart, to live up to his high ideal of them. If we would indeed pay tribute to his memory let us form our character and work with single-handed concentration for the uplift of our country, each in our humble sphere. Sir Asutosh has shown us that political nationalism is not enough. If Bengal is to be free, if India is to be free, nationalism must invade every nook and cranny of our life. Whatever we do, whatever we think, whatever we feel, the national urge must be behind it, and above all, let us cast off all obsequiousness and fear, and walk with head erect to our goal. Remember Sir Asutosh's appeal to the Senators had a nation-wide appeal. With him I say to you—Forget the Government of Bengal, Forget the Government of India, Do your duty as children of India—Freedom First, Freedom Second, Freedom Always.[1]

LATIKA BASU

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[1] Read at the Calcutta University Institute, May 25, 1927.

POEMS EGYPTIAN

In Egypt's golden sands sleep countless lovers,
Whose hearts are urns where human love reposes ;
But when two love as we, a heart uncloses
And springs to life anew in living roses,
And frees the spirit that above them hovers.

INVOCATION TO OLD EGYPT.

Thee I invoke, Oh Egypt!
Fadeless, eternal bride of Father Nile,
Whose secrets lie beneath the subtle smile
Of the great Sphinx, that symbolizes thee,
Thy crouchânt, hidden strength, thy full breast free,
Upheld to all who go to thee in need,
Upon thy ancient wisdom there to feed.
Beneath the moon thy ghostly pageants glide :
The Bedouins, who phantom horses ride ;
The caravans, with camels' swinging stride ;
The laughter of the dusky Arab bride ;
The sweep of strings, the tom-toms' ceaseless beat,
The cries of life and dance of rhythmic feet :
The mighty hosts of kings, and lovers dead ;
The march of stars by veiled Isis led ;
The dark hours filled with sleep and mystery—
All, all are open secrets unto thee!
Oh, lean, brown mother of the Orient,
I seek thee 'neath thy blue, high-vaulted tent—
Thee, I invoke, Oh Egypt!

The Caravan.

Across the desert's yellow dunes,
In clouds of dust, transmuted into gold,
The caravan slow wends its way,
Toward where the sun-set spread its flaming fold.
The camel bells, the creaking loads,
The sing-song cries of drivers, tired and spent,
The neigh of horses, bark of dogs,
That vasty space of silence rent.
Then camp was struck, and black tents spread
With magic swiftness in the ambient air.
The tethered stock glad nosed their food,
While clearly rang the Moslem call to prayer.
In camp-fire's glow, against the night,
There camp the twang of string and tom-tom's beat;
And slender Arab girl away—
With waving arms, and lithe and twinkling feet.
Then, like a sword from scabbard drawn,
Her lover leapt from out the fringing shade,
While in delight the watchers gazed
Upon the rhythmic picture that they made.
Across her worn and wrinkled face
The Desert drew a grey and purple veil,
Through which she looked as Isis fair,
As came the moon with spread and silvered sail.
Then peace and quiet, and the stars—
That seemed white flowers from Night's hands to fall:
The Desert's brooding spirit stooped
With gift of dreams,—and Allah watched o'er all.

LOVE SONGS OF EGYPT

[*Scene.*—Moonlight on the banks of the Nile. *Time.*—When the gods held sway. *haracters.*—A man and a woman (*lovers.*)]

Ie Sings :

Flower o' the Scented Dusk.

Flower o' the scented dusk.
Oh, unbound hair, night-strewn with sens'ous musk?
Oh, jasmine hands and henna-tinted feet,
Thou art so wonderful, thou art so sweet!
Flower o' the scented dusk.

Afar the ibis calls unto his mate
Where flows the sacred Nile, as old as Fate,
And lotus-lilies fold their cups to dream
Upon the breast of the soft crooning stream.
I am a harp, low-lying at thy feet—
Oh, pluck my cords and call forth music, Sweet!
I'll sing, and all my rhapsody shall be
Vibrant with love and ecstasy of thee!
I'll sing thine eyes of lapis lazuli,
I'll sing thy lips, that men might kiss them die,
I'll sing thy breast, like hills of lilies sweet,
I'll sing thy hands and henna-tinted feet,
Thy unbound hair, night-strewn with sen'sous musk,
I'll sing thy soul, Flower o' the scented dusk,
Flower o' the scented dusk!

he sings.

So still the Night.

So still the night, only afar
An ancient, high-priest crocodile,
Beneath his own propitious star,
Prays to his god, great father Nile!

So still, we hear the river croon
To dreaming lilies on its breast:
And 'neath the white enchantress Moon,
All nature seems to sink to rest.

Now is the hour when gods are near:
The silver fringe of Isis' veils
Makes music that our senses hear
As o'er the earth it softly trails.

So still the night—I hear thy heart
Beat out in rhythm all its plea;
Mine own seems but the muted part
That soft responds to love and thee!

Thou art my harp? I'll pluck thy strings
And draw forth melody divine,
While vibrant all my being sings
In answer clear, Oh, Heart of mine!

He Sings.

Love Me, else I'll die.

My heart has lighted a white flame
Upon its sacred inner-shrine—
Ah, love of mine, sweet love of mine—
And there inscribed is thy dear name;
Thou art divine, all, all divine!

Thy brow is like a flower in bloom,
Thine eyes are sparkles of gold wine
Pressed from god Horus' sacred vine.
My soul is steeped in thy perfume,
Ah, love of mine, sweet love of mine!

All swooning at thy sandalled feet
Like shattered rose my senses lie,
Responsive to thy faintest sigh.

The breath of thy red lips is sweet—
Ah, love me, love me, else I'll die!

Beloved, thou didst dawn on me
Like Isis, shining o'er the sky,
Enwrapped in charms and mystery :
Stripped bare is all my soul to thee—
Ah, love me, love me, else I'll die!

She Sings.

Thou art the Sun

Thou art the Sun arisen on my life!
As on the placid stream my heart-bud lay,
Sleeping, dreaming, awaiting thy bright ray,
Thou, thou didst wake me with thy burning kiss,
Transmuting dreams into radiant bliss :
Thou art Osiris, shining o'er my life!

Thou art the Moon arisen in my sky,
Serenely shining through the darkened night,
Tinging the earth with beauty by thy light.
Thou, thou, thou, art both Sun and Moon to me,
To thrill my soul with wonderous ecstasy.
Osiris thou, and Isis both in one,
All hail to the Moon! All hail to the Sun!

TERESA STRICKLAND

SOCIO-ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN BENGAL DURING THE LATTER HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The cry "Back to the Village" is expected to be much accentuated during the régime of the present Viceroy who prides himself as an agriculturist and whose declared policy has been to improve agriculture in India for which purpose he has already taken a practical step by the inauguration of the Linlithgo Commission.

In its origin in Bengal the cry was sponsored by a section of the Bengalee publicists who, in season and out of season, dinned into the ears of their readers the sin of deserting their villages and the romance of the golden days of the village life of their forefathers. Recently Mr. G. S. Datta, I.C.S., has become the official exponent of the cry, the Swarajists have made it as one of the main planks of their political platform; and Captain Petavel of the "unemployment" fame has given his dictum that "Back to the Village" is the only panacea of all economic evils to the Bhadraloks of the presidency.

But any actual effort towards village-reconstruction in Bengal must be preceded by a diagnostic study of the cause of its decline as well as its present-day problems.

It is needless to say that the problems of rural Bengal are definite enough—Sanitation, Education and Economic Welfare; and that they are not much different from those of the other parts of India, except perhaps in one respect, that of sanitation.

The Presidency itself by nature was never so healthy as many other parts of India. Marshy, water-logged, damp and jungly Bengal has ever been a cause of enervation and disease to its inhabitants who were, even in their earlier and healthier days, regarded as timid and weak by their brethren of Western India and who were surely smaller in stature and less sturdy in physical capacity in comparison with the up-country Hindustanis or the southern Bargis.

But nature always knows its own defect and keeps ready-cures at hand, and the annual wash—the inevitable flood—removing the dirt of the year and checking the miasma of the clogged water, prevented the possible outbreaks of diseases in the depressed areas, and was a veritable boon as an envigorating manure-tonic to the land relentlessly subjected to the production of crops of various kinds for providing the material necessities of one of the most densely populated tracts in the world (940 per mile). The high lands, such as in parts of Burdwan and Bankura, naturally healthier than the depressed areas subject to annual flood, were indirectly benefited from the effects of the flood over their sister-areas, by being kept free from the present-day contamination of the diseased people in those unfortunate neighbouring places.

But man's ambition went counter to nature's beneficence and during the latter half of the nineteenth century railway lines were opened to facilitate distant trade and communication, bunds were erected to preserve them from the havocs of the seasonal flood, a net-work of metalled and unmetalled roads was interwoven for the amenities of the village life and the development of the rural economy, and canals were dug for the irrigation to help agriculture. All these were undertaken with the most praiseworthy motive, social utility and national prosperity, but unfortunately in their legitimate eagerness and enthusiasm to carry out the planned programme and policy in the cause of public utility services, the innocently inexperienced administrators of the period did not and perhaps could not provide for necessary safeguards against the evils that were inseparable from their programme for progress ; and thus thwarted nature was not propitiated by any suitable offerings. The consequence immediately was the deadly plague of malaria, and ever after, the decline of the Bengal villages in her human as well as land factor, the enervation of the local people, the continuous emigration of the well-to-do classes, and the gradual loss of fertility to the soil.

Nature, thus enraged, still continues in her ruthless vengeance over her sinning victims, and is expected to continue till propitiated by suitable sacrifices, or till the Bengal villages become another Sundarbans.

The local people everywhere welcomed the programme ; and regarded the notorious bund of the Damodar (from the point of view of the sanitation of the localities) as a veritable boon from the Company saving them from the annual inroads of the flood which caused them insufferable distress and immense loss of wealth. The embankment protected the people of a vast area in their life and property ; and they acknowledged with grateful hearts that no longer their paddy in the granary, fish in the tank and mud wall in the compound were liable to annual destruction. It is true that the protection of the newly laid railway line was a very strong motive for taking care of this guard on the Damodar, but it cannot be denied that there was an earlier and more human motive, that is, the protection of the people in that quarter from the dire effects, on their life and property, of the flood which beside causing annual distress and loss, occasionally assumed an extremely terrible and ruinous aspect. That of 1823 (1230 B. S.) was still remembered in the early years of the 20th century by some old and personally stricken villagers, and its description can still be read with thrilling interest in the records of the Government ; and the last of the floods in this part of the Presidency, that of 1844, was not the least troublesome.

There was no more flood, thanks to that extraordinary and awe-inspiring people, the queen's officials, there was unexpected facility for communication, thanks to British ingenuity, thought the elated people of the Burdwan Division; at that golden age of the village when in respect of population, wealth or honour, part of this area, notably the newly organised Hughli district, became the cynosure of all eyes in Bengal. Indeed at that time the people of this prosperous tract could boast of much, and many of the names that have shed lusture on the annals of Bengal—Raja Ram Mohan Ray, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dwarkanath Mitter, Bhudeb Chandra Mukherjee, belonged to the district, and most of them including the immortal Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the author of the Indian marseillaise were the students of the Hughli College. The railway lines, to protect which the embankment was specially cared for, made it possible for many of the employees in the Calcutta firms to pay monthly or even weekly visits to their families while the earlier generation of clerks had to remain uncomfortably separated from their families almost the whole year, with the consolation of the Puja holiday visits. Calcutta which was then a city of gold for the Bhadrolokas came to be near at home to many and the district headquarters which were to be frequently resorted to for securing the "Queen's Justice" became easy of reach. Thus the bund and the railways were not only agents of economic welfare but also of social amenities in the rural life of the areas. Under the circumstances it is not strange that the value of landed property, everywhere in the railway zone or the bund-protected area, began to rise by leaps and bounds. It is no wonder that the simple village folk could not foresee their dire future from these sources of their immediate happiness and prosperity, and surely there was a sense in the appreciation by the public, of the newly introduced measures which were immediately followed by increase of population, prosperity and comfort in the rural areas.

But this elation of the simple village folk and their unique prosperity did not last long; and nature, fettered hands and feet by embankments and railways and raised metalled and mud roads, began her terrible retribution. Within 25 years of the opening of the railway lines the unprecedented prosperity of the land traversed by them was gone, decline began in the flourishing villages, and the desertion of them became a rule for their well-to-do people. The nature and extent of this decline may be illustrated from the following census of two of the typical villages in the tract :

Village.	*Population before fever. 1860,*	*After fever, 1870*	*At present.*
1. Dwarbasini	2,743	784	350
2. Dhaniakhali	1,112	415	235

The tide of decline and desertion continues up to date; and whoever can afford to live in town, is forsaking his village home ; and those of their unfortunate brethren who have no other alternative than to stick to their life in the village, are rapidly becoming a dying race. The census report is an eloquent proof of the decline of the population in parts of rural Bengal, but it is not eloquent enough regarding the extinction of the indigenous Bengalee people, as the population is being maintained by the Santals and other immigrants from the neighbouring tracts.

The above dismal picture is fortunately not true *in toto* for the whole of Bengal or for all the Bengalees, but it is typical for the malarious zone and it may reasonably be apprehended that with the spread of malaria which is rapidly conquering healthy places like Birbhoom and Bankura in West Bengal and like Barisal and Faridpur in East Bengal, the horrible history of the deserted villages of West Bengal will be repeated everywhere within a quarter of a century.

This is the history of a part of Bengal during the last tri-quarter century during which period she has been losing progressively in population and labour power, and in productivity of land. This is the etiology of the decline of the Bengal village, of the disappearance of her man-power, of the backwardness in industrial life, and of the fell disease which has become a constant accompaniment of her village life. This should partly explain why her finest people, the Bhadraloks, have had to leave the comfortable rural homes of their ancestors for the dingy and overcrowded city-bustees.

Much can be gathered about the amenities of life in rural Bengal in its prosperous days from the pens of poets and songs of rustics; and that felicitous brightness of the past becomes more vivid by contrast with the painful darkness of the present and the hopeless gloom of the future, as are now depicted by literary geniuses or sung by village swans in the tune of doleful dirge.

The Bengal village of yore was a happy home with plenty of food, vigorous health, sincere social amenities and inviting enjoyments of life; and throughout the whole year of his business life the homesick sojourner in Calcutta longed with eager expectation for the advent of the Puja days when he would be again in his elements in the village in the blissful company of his family. As much as possible of what he earned in the city he tried to save to be spent or invested in the village for comfort, display or future provision. Thus tanks were excavated, gardens were laid, palaces and temples were built; Pujas and ceremonies were performed thirteen times in twelve months, as they say, and people were fed in lavish style; localised industries rose to the pride of perfection; the supply of capital was ready to co-operate with labour in agriculture; and land was scrupulously cared for and covetously longed for as the excellent receptacle of all incomes earned in the city, either with reference to fertility or property. The annual Puja exodus to the village as sung by Iswar Gupta gives a thrilling picture of the mind of the holiday pilgrims and incidentally describes the enjoyments of the village life. The path was long but the heart was strong, and difficulty of the communication was annihilated by the eagerness of the desire to be amongst one's own. Calcutta was decried and the village was extolled, and not a single discordant tune in the praise of the city of palaces marred the harmony of admiring songs to the village in the whole of the literature of the period. Thus when by the opening out of the first railway lines in Bengal, from Howrah to Raneegunge, the communication to the villages became easy, the Bhadraloks of the village blessed the days and the Queen's Government for it, then little knowing that the seeds of destruction of their village enjoyments were lying in what apparently was a means of increasing them.

The first part of the nineteenth century up to the opening of the railway lines may be regarded as the golden age of the villages of Bengal which continued for a few years more, when attention and wealth were bestowed upon rural areas by the officials as well as the public. The zamindars sought to distinguish themselves by opening out new roads and founding schools and dispensaries, and the officials encouraged them by the impetus of distinction and titles; and the origin of most of the village roads and village schools may be traced to the period. The germs of the roadcess and the local self-government in the rural Bengal were voluntarily sown in this period in 1830 (some 50 years before the realisation of the scheme for local self-government and actual imposition of the cess), by the members of the Dhaniakhali Road Committee in the Hughli district, who with convict-labour freely allowed by the Government, were engaged in constructing the Hughli-Bhastara Road, the want of which, according to a high official, "through (such) a thickly populated and fertile country had long been felt," which now wears the appearance of a deserted and declining area.

The next generation of poets and litterateurs, however, began to see the effects of the new order of things about the villages and little analysing the causes of the desertion of the village by the finest of her sons, began to put all blame upon those devoted heads who naturally forsook their village homes for more reasons than one. The literature of the period is prolific in satires and comical writings criticising the English-educated Bengalee gentlemen who were regarded by their elders to be perverse enough to prefer secluded and crowded town life to the airy and social village life. These elders regarded it to be the crowning immodesty for the husband to take the wife,—the daughter-in-law of the family,—away from its bosom to the distant residence of his business life.

The elders instinctively felt that this revolution in the domestic system was a calamity to the family as well as the village, but their prejudiced eyes were blind to the fact that it was natural and inevitable under the new order of things.

But the taunts of the elders, the humours of the village wits and the satires of the Bengalee literature all alike fell before the tide of the western culture, new-born individualism, the changed circumstances of society and economic necessities. The duty to the joint family paled before the duty to one's own family for which the sense of responsibility developed in a new light along with the development of the idea of a new and higher standard of living and comfort. The patriotic instincts ceased to be parochial and began to be national; and the village was no longer the compass of ambition, distinction and service but the whole country, and it was regarded as much meritorious if not more, for a successful Bengalee gentleman to subscribe to the newly started national fund as to re-excavate a tank in his own village. The time-honoured practice of looking at the mother as the head of the inner world of the household slowly but steadily gave way to the Western idea that the wife was the mistress of her husband's house. The economic conditions so changed that the erstwhile joint families could not but become joint-messes or a sort of co-operative organisations with a great deal of individuality. The idea that the Calcutta streets are strewn with money only to be collected by an enterprising village young man, was strengthened by the hoards brought from that golden field after each sojourn of not only of an English-knowing gentleman but also of those who entered there into a grocer's business or barber's profession or in any other work like that; and a silent revolution in the economic organisation of the village society began to eat into the very vitality of the joint family system. No longer the contributions to the family fund from the different earners—those who remained at home to look after the cultivation of the family farm or to conduct the established banking business of the family and those who went to town to earn money in service, were equal. The Calcutta Babu's earning, at least in cash, was much greater than that of his brother at home, and the idea of good living of the former as well as his tendency to individualism through his coming into contact with the westernised people in the city, was much different from that of the latter. The petty jealousies coming out from the natural rural economic consideration of unequal incomes gradually began to overshadow the sunny and peaceful atmosphere of the family life of the Bhadraloks in the villages. The evil appeared first in the insidious shape of reserved saving of a part of the earning of the Calcutta Babu, concealed from the family head, but soon after the delicate feeling was overcome and it was openly avowed that he would be glad to make only a fixed contribution to the family fund irrespective of the consideration of his increasing income. So long as the wife and children of the town-worker remained under his paternal roof in the village, the contribution continued on a rather liberal scale but afterwards in accordance with the calculated expenditure on the people particularly his own. But the day came very soon when the wife, and of course along with her the children, was taken away to the town residence in consonance with the newly developed idea of home comfort and conjugal duty; and along with her Lakshmi (the goddess of wealth) was gone, and the Sree (grace) of the village was lost, and the contribution to the family fund by her husband began to dwindle till it came to be mere occasional mites or ceremonial presents instead of a regular and dutiful instalment. Thus the joint family of the Bhadrolokas began to decline during the latter half of the nineteenth century; and by this process the rural areas were shorn of the flower of that intelligentsia who have ever been the pride of Bengal and the source of its prosperity. Rural Bengal thus became solely the field for those who were less enterprising and able, less in touch with the western civilisation which was doing splendid works in all the diverse departments in social life in the city, and less fit to assimilate the new ideas and practices without recourse to which no progress was possible in the nineteenth century. It is no wonder that the Bengal village began to decline like a pool of stagnant water filled with germs of disease and decay.

But the disruption of the joint-family was not the only social cause for the decay of the village.

The land ceased to be the property of the villager, were he an actual cultivator or a capitalistic farmer supervising the cultivation of his own farm. The economic effects of this was the loss to the village of a growing source of income. No parts of the surplus produce of the land would benefit the village but go away for the uses of the absentee landlord ; and as the surplus went on increasing with the development of communication, the landlord's rent-roll inflated, and progress in the social environment of Bengal meant increasing exploitation to the Bengal villages. But in its social effect the new land system was altogether disastrous. The revolutionary enactment of 1793, which deprived him of his immemorial right in his land, a rude shock to the helpless villager at the moment, began to develop as a veritable source of harassment and humiliation to the village gentleman. The haptams and the panchams with the warrants of distraints and distresses, began to make life intolerable for those who had been imbued with the idea of family pride and domineering dignity of leaders over the common folk for how many generations who knows. The Baniadi families of the village—the Brahmins, the Baidyas and the Kayesthas generally—had their peculiar pride and time-produced susceptibilities which began to receive rude shocks at the hands of the unscrupulous agents of the new zemindars whose forefathers mostly were but landless money-lenders or service-holders by profession in the towns ; and the well-known cry was raised "Don't live in the

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territory of a zemindar." Thus the family-pride as well as the immemorial leadership of the village-Bhadraloks received frequent rude shocks at the hands of the local agents of the newly created landlords—the gomasthas and the naibs who were very often of low or unknown origin, foreigner to the villages they came to work in, and unsympathetic to the traditions of respectable families in the villages. The administrative history of the period and the old records of the criminal as well as the civil courts if unearthed would surely show the distress and humiliation of the village Bhadralokas of the period. One couplet of poet Hem Chandra (the district of Hughli trembles before the might—"হুগলি জেলা কাঁপে দাপে") is expressive enough and the tale of Govinda Samanta by Rev. Lal Behari De has become a classic in Bengal. But nothing can be more eloquent than the unwritten tales of distress and humiliation and loss of long enjoyed family lands through the rising *patnidars* and the crimes committed during the struggle. A new order of things came over the simple and peaceful life in the village. No longer there the oldest respectable man in the village was the Patriarchal leader but the Patwar—the zemindar's agent—took his place. His chicanery and his master's tyranny began to eat into the vitals of the time-honoured village organisation. No longer the village was the self-contained unit, no longer were its affairs to be managed by the wisdom of its own panchayat and the sympathetic arbitration of its respected elders,—the Mandals and the Pradhans—but the zemindar's agent must be approached and his decision must be accepted under the autocratic sanction of the zemindar through his law agents and lathials. (*Cf.* Toynby regarding the Regulation V of 1812 for registering the *Nugdis* of the zemindars, also regarding the organisation of the village Police and its complete subordination to the zemindars.) Everywhere the intellectuals did not give up their rights and interests, enjoyment and prestige without struggle. The struggle was long, bitter and fierce and its history contains occasional triumphs of the villager, but mostly

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pathetic tales of his ruin and ultimate meek submission to the new order of things in the rural areas, where the rule passed from the villagers themselves to the zemindar's agent, that is, the local democracy was supplanted by a far-away autocracy. Under such circumstances the self-respecting and capable section of the village Bhadralokas who could earn income for themselves and had not to depend upon the paternal farm in the village for the maintenance of their families began to forsake the rural areas to live the free life of towns where the Queen's justice prevailed in its fullest glory and where there was not the zemindar's gomastha with his chicanery and tyranny.

Thus the socio-economic cause already mentioned was strengthened in its effect by the administrative measure of 1793 to depopulate the village of its best men who might be compared with its brain.

The eyes of the administrators were however soon opened, not indeed to this aspect of the village life, but to another one—to the evils of the new system in respect to the ryots who lost their immemorial rights on land. The literature about land tenure of the period, the remarks of the judicial authorities in course of adjudication of cases that cropped up in multitude in the wake of the settlement of 1793 regarding property in lands, the tenure to it and settlement as well as payment of rent, were supplemented by the remarks about the oppression of the landlords in the village areas by the Magistrates responsible for the life and property of the British subjects. The situation no longer could be ignored and genuine and earnest efforts were made by the British rulers through legislation and otherwise to remedy the defects of the settlement and to give all legitimate protection to the people of the muffasil.

Perhaps it would be pertinent here to quote a few passages from an official document of the first quarter of the nineteenth century referring to the Hughli district :—

> " All the early records turn with allusions to the oppressions and exactions by the zemindars towards their ryots...every possible mode of

getting rid of them was adopted...remeasurement, resettlement and a so-called improvement by making a bund or water course. The last was, the Collector says, " the most galling evil the ryots to suffer...every time a putni was sold the purchaser enhanced the rents. Zemindars often created putni tenures on the ground that the leases granted by them to their ryots became thereby cancelled."

"...The illegal exactions of cesses on the occasions of marriages, festivals, Police visits were incessant though rents were already as high as they could be. Petitions poured in but the Collector was helpless and could only suggest...an act to make abwabs penal. The powers given... to zemindars to compel the attendance of the ryots at his Kuchari...were openly and flagrantly abused."

It is no wonder that the Bhadralokas of the village who were hit hard by the land system of 1793, not only in their pockets but in their self-respect, will raise the cry "Don't live in the *raj* of the zemindar," and that those of them who could live in towns more comfortably on incomes earned through various new avenues for employment there, should forsake their villages to enjoy the liberty, peace and amenities of the wonderful Pax Britannica.

This socio-economic cause for the desertion of the villages by the higher classes, was supplemented by what might be regarded as a purely economic one. About this time commenced the disestablishment of the factories for dealing in indigo, silk, cotton, etc., with which the whole rural tract of West Bengal was strewn by the East India Company at first, and by the European private merchant adventurers afterwards; and which were a ready source of employment to the soft-handed labourers of the mofussil. They attended the factories near about their homes and prospered through combining their monthly money incomes with what they got from their paternal lands under their personal supervision. After the decline and abolition of these mofussil factories, they had to go to distant Calcutta for employments, leaving those of their relatives at home who were less able and less educated. Then, as now, it was true that a Bhadraloka could not flourish in life unless he earned ready money in service or profession and he flourished well if he could combine his money income with the production in kind of his land. After the abolition of factories in the mofussil only one source of employment for soft-handed labour remained there and that was under the zemindars who wanted troops of patwars to discharge duties which could be efficiently done only by men of easy conscience and bullying character. Thus the village while deprived of its flower of population became the playground of the agents of the zemindar who are even now very meanly paid by their masters and eke out their paltry incomes by exploiting the timid and ignorant peasants through various abwabs and *parvanies*, and by acting as the agent provocateur of ruinous litigations among the unwary villagers. Every octogenarian resident of a village will admit that there was a time when all lands in the village belonged to the non-cultivating Bhadralok classes round about whom veered the landless common people as labourers or bhagdars who were helped by their landed proprietors with capital and advance payments for production on land. Thus there was no dearth of capital in the cultivation of land, so loudly complained for now-a-days; neither there was paucity of intelligent supervision the want of which is regarded as a great desideratum in respect of turning to useful purpose the fullest potentiality of the fertile Bengal fields, and which is advocated to be supplied through agricultural education, the mania of the day.

The contributory economic cause to the decline of the village is the loss of its crafts and industries through the competitive inroads of the European and Indian factory articles, which left in the village no other source for livelihood but land and which caused a continuous drain of its surplus production to foreign lands or to distant Indian towns.

On the one hand the absentee landlords got all the surplus from land for their use far away from the village, and on the other hand the foreign manufacturer got the surplus from the labour of the villager. The land was pressed increasingly and mercilessly for production but it got nothing back to restore its power. No longer the villager had any expectation of being benefited by the munificence of his zemindar whose ancestor excavated tanks for him, lent money to him and helped him in his distress with sympathy and medicine. All touch between the landlord and the cultivator was cut asunder by the new settlement and seldom if ever the villager could see his landlord in the village to approach him with his grievances.

Thus the village was incessantly bled white, surplus of its land going to the absentee zemindar to be spent monthly in his palaces, cars and nautch girls, and sometimes in schools and hospitals, it is true, but not in the village itself and the surplus of its labour going to distant destination to procure necessities or luxuries which formerly could be had in the village itself, or were never a temptation to the villager.

There was another reason which served as no less a potent cause for the decline of the rural Bengal and for the desertion of the village homes by those who could afford to live in towns. It was the fell epidemic to the malarial fever which visited some of the finest districts of the Presidency at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Flourishing villages and densely populated pergannahs were dismally desolated. The well-to-do people fled for their very lives and the scum of the society was left to die a rotten death in their paternal homes, uncared for during the last few hours of agony and unblessed with the last ceremony of their corporeal existence. Thus the death-stroke was given to the declining village by malaria, which must be regarded as the last and the most deadly cause of the ruin of rural Bengal not only through its intensively poisonous effect on the occasion of its sudden epidemic appearance but also through its cumulative effects over a period of four generations of Bengalee rural life.

Thus the causes of the decline of the rural Bengal may be summarised here as :—

I. The Economic revolution, which attracted the flower of the rural population to Calcutta and other towns for prosperous living. This tendency was accentuated by the revolutionary land measure of 1793, which deprived the proprietors of land in the village of their immemorial rights on it; and the inauguration of which deprived the village-Bhadraloks of their traditional status as the leaders of the folk there, and of their functions as the arbitrators in village disputes, as the patrons of the simple folk in their distress and danger, as their natural representatives and intermediary to the State; which, in a word, removed the brain of the village, and left its body inert.

Then the leadership and patronage of village life as well as the duty of representation fell on the newly created absentee landlords whose agents of management of the affairs of their distant mahals, were mostly a set of unscrupulous amlas, ill educated, ill paid, and without much of a social status or tradition, and generally foreigner to the village, and so unsympathetic to its people. Thus, not the intelligent and self-made zemindar himself but his hireling firmly situated in the village as veritable pests became its leader.

II. The economic invasion of the western manufactures was the next cause that began to ruin the village. No longer it was a self-sufficient economic unit with its own weaver, blacksmith, oilman and other craftsmen. Cheap Manchester piece goods, foreign ploughheads and implements, adulterated mustard oil produced in factories in distant towns began to ruin the domestic industries of the village leaving only three sources of employment for the villager—agriculture, service and petty trade. A land hunger was created and land butchery went on remorselesly. Before this land hunger both custom and superstition went down, pastures were tilled, Bhagars were, as they say, broken, and the tracks were narrowed, and even a number of public roads of the Mahomedan period disappeared, of course immensely benefiting the zemindars whose rent roll swelled from 2 crores in 1793 to 12 crores in 1925. But all these devices would have been insufficient to appease the hunger of the village folk but for the disappearance of the Bhadralok village cultivators from the field whose lands now became available for the labouring classes.

III. The social revolution due to the English Education in the wake of which the ideas of *laissez faire* and individual liberty, rationalism, intolerance of social restraints and customs, came in such a flood-tide on the young Bengal that particular merit was attached to drinking in company of the elders, to taking the prohibited beef and throwing the bones into the orthodox neighbouring houses, to cutting the *sikhas* and to keeping beards. This ridiculous effervescence in social life, no doubt, soon vanished, but the society ceased to be what it had been. The conception of family and duty towards it became different and the joint family system as well as the village household was broken.

IV. The insanitary conditions due to the obstructions to the natural drainage caused by the railways, raised roadways and embankments.

It is well-known that the fell malaria came in the wake of the first railway line that was laid in Bengal, and in the areas too which was traversed by the East Indian Railway line, from Howrah to Ranigunj, to protect which the famous bund on the Damodar had to be maintained.

It may be noted here that as the circumstances of the different tracts of so wide an area as the Bengal Presidency are different, all the above causes of the decline of the villages may not be working everywhere and their attacks differ in vigour and virulence in different areas. Historically too the onsets were not synchronous. Thus the economic revolution regarding the change of employment—service holding—first worked most vigorously about Calcutta, the city of offices and factories. Its spread to Eastern Bengal was slow and gradual. The consequent social revolution of the disruption of the joint family, and the starting of the individual families in the places of service was long delayed by the conservatism of custom among the people of Eastern Bengal who looked with peculiar aversion on the taking away of the daughter-in-law of the family by her husband in his abode in towns. Thus while the joint family in Western Bengal by this time has become a phœnix-like rarity, in Eastern Bengal many of them are still preserved, at least in semblance. Again the Bhadraloks of Eastern Bengal are still not so landless as their compeers in West Bengal though gradually the old history is repeating itself there too. Through this process the gentry of the eastern districts following the examples of their brethren of the West who first got the light of civilisation have been going away from their ancestral homes for service in towns ; and their lands are either gradually slipping away from their ownership or being leased to actual cultivators, who are mostly Mahomedan labourers in a flourishing condition. Thus here too gradually the brain of the village is becoming weaker and weaker but its body is perhaps not declining so rapidly as in the other parts of the Presidency, as the fell malaria is not doing its havoc so much in the naturally well drained area which is annually washed in the rainy seasons by water that finds its way in every nook and corner in the tract, and, in fact, keeps it submerged for a considerable period of time during the year.

Now we find that, of the causes of decline of rural Bengal, (1) the economic revolution regarding employment of the Bhadraloks leading to the desertion of their village homes and destruction of the joint families, (2) the socio-economic changes due to the land settlement of 1793 imparting additional momentum to the force of the first cause, (3) the purely social cause, which brought into the mind the idea of individual liberty and duty to the individual family, and that of Western comforts and living and which also accustomed them to the particular amenities of town life in the modern days of scientific inventions for facilitating human enjoyments, (4) the ruin of the indigenous handicrafts by the inroads of manufactured articles, and (5) the change in the character of the physical

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environment—the local insanitation due to railways and embankments ; perhaps the last one is not working in East Bengal with so much force extensively as well as intensively, as in Western Bengal. The other causes are acting with the fullest vigour there, though they visited the area a little later, after almost completing their works in the more unfortunate part of the Presidency. Thus there seems to be still some life left in Eastern rurality and there the conditions of climate and habit are still more favourable than in West Bengal for the success of any movement for the rehabilitation of the village. In West Bengal all the causes are working with their fullest vigour and they have almost completed the ruin they had begun in the sixties of the last century; and so the task of rehabilitation there is much more difficult if not altogether hopeless.

The natural sequel to any diagnostic study of the etiology of the decline of rural Bengal, must be suggestion of remedies; and though the scope of the present discussion does not extend to that, a few words may be permitted towards the consideration.

It seems that most of the remedies applied up to date to ailing rural areas of Bengal, have failed to be effective for two reasons—insufficiency of doses, and inaccuracy in diagnosis.

Local application of palliatives—tanks and tube wells, subsidised medical practitioners, charitable dispensaries, anti-malarial societies and kala-azar centres, are no doubt good in their way, but they will not remove malaria neither they will rehabilitate the village with its brain-like cultured population without whose co-operation no organisation for improvement of the village can permanently flourish. Any outside impetus will spend itself up in no time unless sufficient response be forthcoming from inside. Thus men and money required for the improvement of the villages must mainly and perennially be found in them.

It is necessary, therefore, to look to the man power and the money power of the village before any attempt at organisation is made there. There may be found villages at convenient quarters where it is not yet completely denuded of its man power or where the monetary resources are not altogether wanting. Such villages—near about railway stations or by the sides of good metalled roads with the possibility of the motor-bus communication—may be taken in hand, so that the people living there may reach towns for their daily work. Organising sanitary and educational institutions in such villages is feasible, because good men may be available and money also flows into them from the outside centres. But in the case of most of the villages, organisation is not at all easy and any arm-chair attempt in that direction is sure to fail. There the problem is to go to the root and to boldly make programme for years and to pursue the policy of removing the causes that have led to their ruin.

It may be finally urged that those who cry "Back to the village" must know that to rehabilitate the rural area of Bengal two things would be necessary—to undertake to find out an enormous quantity of money for its sanitary improvement and facility for communication and other amenities of life, and to purge it of the baneful influence of the agent of the absentee landlords who far away from the eyes of their masters, not infrequently deliberately shut, lord over the solitude he surveys and does not rest till he drives out of his jurisdiction any champion of the simple villager or compel him to wink at his misdoings.

The money may be obtained by preventing the illegal exactions or abwabs which may be calculated to amount annually to 50 lacs of rupees, and by intercepting the unearned increment from land which means on an average about Rs. 10 lacs a year.

It can be calculated that on the mortgage of 50 lacs out of the 60 lacs most of which annually goes out of the pocket of the village toiler in an illegal way, a capital loan of 10 crores can be raised, and the monetary problem for the rural reconstruction in Bengal can be solved forever and effectively.

But who knows when, if ever, the dream will be realised in the destiny of rural Bengal. Now if you go to the administrators of the land they admit the mistake of 1793 and the grievous injury done to the village but are embarrassed by the pledge of 1793; if you go to the political leaders they say hush, no question of class against class; and the zemindars assert that the land settlement of Bengal is sacrosanct. Well may a student of Indian Economics cry in despair in the pages of the *Modern Review*.

> "The British Parliament......can make fundamental changes at home and in India......can abolish the House of Lords, alter the constitution of the Government of India, deprive an Indian prince of his hereditary throne; but only cannot modify or even discuss a particular land revenue system, admittedly introduced in unwise haste and suspected of cumulative injurious effects on the community in diverse ways! Private property in land is being growingly unpopular along with the progress of Democracy everywhere, only in Bengal no cry can be raised or should be listened to, against the Permanent Settlement!"

AKSHAYKUMAR SARKAR

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONTEST AND INDIA

England's internal situation—the rift caused by the Government's Trade Union Bills and the international situation—have forced the hands of the Tories to break relations with Russia, which has been in the air for the last three years. It is believed that Britain will receive support from the United States of America, Italy, Roumania and some other states. But neither can England carry on any active warfare against Russia, nor can her anti-Russian policy be a success, unless she can isolate Russia in world politics. In this Anglo-Russian conflict of to-day, Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia are holding the key positions.

Traditional enmity between Russia and England has come to a new focus ; because Russia is undermining British supremacy in Asia—in the awakened Asia which is trying to become free and independent. So far Britain has met serious defeats in her contest with Soviet Russian diplomacy, which has played the game of attacking England not directly, but by supporting Asian states which stand between Russia and the British Empire. The victory of nationalist Turkey is a victory for Russia, organization of a strong Persian state free from British control is an asset towards Russian security, assertion of Afghan independence is a military as well as political victory for Russia against British efforts to control Afghanistan. Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan are bound to Russia by treaties of friendship and neutrality, pledging not to join Russia's enemies.

Russia signally defeated Britain in her China policy by supporting the Chinese nationalist cause. In fact Britain felt the pressure of isolation in China when France and Japan refused to adopt the British policy and took the stand of neutrality. America at first supported Britain in China, but now both America and Britain have taken a very different stand. The main object of the Russian diplomacy in China has been nothing less than creating a condition in the Far East where nationalist China will become an important factor in the Balance of power, and Britain will not be able to use China against Russia or any other power. Whatever may develop in the Russo-Chinese relations of the future, the main purpose of Soviet Russian diplomacy in China is on the way to success. The new awakening of China, on the basis of *China for the Chinese* is bound to grow and it will bear fruit, which will not add to the permanency of British Imperialism in Asia. After these victories of Soviet diplomacy, British statesmen were exasperated and supported General TChang Tso Lin to bring about a war between North China and Russia, through a raid in the Soviet Embassy in Peking. Russia refused to be stampeded into a war with China.

Russia has entered into European diplomacy, by participating in the World Economic Conference held in Geneva, under the auspices of the League of Nations. This dramatic gesture of Russia in Geneva has been regarded by all well-informed observers that she will participate in the discussions of the coming Disarmament Conference to be held under the auspices of the League of Nations; and on that occasion she will take a stand with the French position, opposing British stand. This possibility is hated by British statesmen, because the Anglo-American stand on the disarmament question will not make the position of France so weak if Russia stands by France.

Russian diplomacy has again appeared in the Balkans, with her pre-war position. Italy has ratified the Roumanian annexation of Basarabia, and has taken a stand against Yugo-Slavia on the Albanian question. In spite of Mr. Chamberlain's declarations that Britain is not directly interested in the Albanian question, it is well-known that while Britain is supporting Italy in the Balkans, Yugo-Slavia is being supported by Russia as well as France; and there is a strong rumour that

Yugo-Slavia is contemplating signing a treaty of friendship with Turkey. The most significant thing regarding the reappearance of Russian influence in the Balkans is that, during the recent conference of the Little Entente, held at Jochimsthal, Russian observers appeared on the scene and the Little Entente Powers adopted a resolution to the effect that every member is free to carry on its relations with Russia without supporting communism. This is a distinct gain for Russian diplomacy.

There is every indication that Russian diplomacy might play a very significant part in Europe. British statesmen seem to have the apprehension that Russia will follow the general policy of being in cordial terms with France and Germany in opposition to Great Britain. A success of Russian diplomacy in Europe may mean that Britain may have the support of Italy, but otherwise she will be isolated in Europe.

British statesmen are apprehensive of the audacity of the Russian moves in Asia and Europe and they do not know what to do to check further development of Russian success in international diplomacy, except to use all the influence they can command to adopt counter measures which might bring about isolation of Russia in world politics. British statesmen hope that by breaking off diplomatic relations with Russia, they will be able to bring pressure on other states to follow their initiative. They are frantic to devise means that they may receive support from other states against Russia. This can be seen from the recent efforts made to win France to British side, by the talk of assurance of the revival of the *Entente Cordiale* and the visit of the French President in London.

It is very doubtful that France, to please the British and American statesmen, will adopt any policy which will be regarded as definitely hostile to Russia. No French statesman, particularly M. Poincare, can overlook the fact that the British policy, since the conclusion of the World War, has been to ignore French interests and to promote Anglo-American-German understanding. French statesmen will not forget the way

France was treated at the Washington Conference by Anglo-American statesmen, by placing French naval strength to the minimum level with that of Italy. French statesmen know that Britain, in case of difficulty, looks upon Italian support in the Mediterranean, and she in return is pledged to support Italian policy ; this is not entirely agreeable to French interests. If France adopts a hostile attitude to Russia, the security of Poland, an ally of France, may be endangered, and there may arise closer understanding between Russia and Germany. To-day there is some prospect of an understanding between France and Russia regarding the settlement of Franco-Russian debts which may help France economically ; and any sign of French hostility to Russia may endanger this prospect. France has her own difficulties in Asia, Africa as well as in Europe and it is quite unlikely that France will borrow further trouble with Russia to please Anglo-American statesmen who discarded the Anglo-American-French alliance agreed upon, after the conclusion of the World War, as a measure of security to France.

The British statesmen and journalists who once took the leading part in carrying on despicable and lying anti-German propaganda all over the world and who did their best to deprive Germany of her colonies and to destroy the German navy and economic power are now begging Germany to side with Britain and to give up her cordial relations with Russia. This is being done through responsible journals which often speak for the Government. The notable instance is that Mr. Garvin, in a signed article published in the Observer of May 22nd pleads for German friendship in the following way :—

> "The German question is the real key of Europe. In this country (England) the desire for a final reconciliation with the German people has been wide and deep for a number of years, and a similar statement would be as true of France of to-day. The response remains uncertain. Political conditions in the Reich are known. The majority of the German people are for peace, but broken up into parties as it is, that majority is not necessarily a sure dependence.

"By far the most vigorous single force is the Nationalist minority, which regards itself as having a natural right to rule. A vehement number of its adherents are Bourbons in modern Europe. They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They maintain that all war guilt lies on the heads of the Allies. They tell their countrymen that the result of the war was a German glory only reversed by political treachery. Just like the blind Holstein-Bulow School before the war and like all the post-Bismarckian epigoni, they are victims of the Asiatic mirage and assume that the British Empire must perish somehow. Threatened empires like threatened men, live long, if they seek no quarrels, but are capable of defence of formidable fibre and resource. Herr Hergt, the Nationalist "loud speaker" in the present composite German Government, recently breathed on the Polish frontier sentiments which either meant war in due time or meant nothing.

" We are ourselves unchangeably for the early and complete evacuation of the Rhineland. But utterances like Herr Hergt's make French stiffness intelligible. Nor at present can a premature attempt to force the question of Colonial Mandates lead to anything but a deadlock and open or suppressed antagonisms. France and Britain would concede much indeed to a friendly majority of the German people capable of asserting its will to govern and its will to peace, but neither Britain nor France can be facile towards the militarist minority which regards every concession not as a gain for peace, but as a gain for strategy."

According to the Munchener Zeitung (Munich) of May 24th, a responsible British journalist who enjoys a great deal of confidence of the highest official circles of London and writes under the nom de plume of " Augur " has openly suggested that if Germany ceases to lean on the Eastern Powers, *i.e.* Russia and others, and adopts a pro-British and anti-Russian policy then the following things can be secured for Germany through British influence :—

1. Rhineland will be soon and quickly evacuated. 2. The disagreeable and humiliating clauses of the Versailles Treaty will be soon revised. 3. Limitation of German armament imposed on Germany be removed. 4. Dawes plan will be revised in favour of Germany and the feature of international control in collecting reparation be removed. 5. Allies will not oppose the union of Austria with Germany, and 6, Great Britain will use all her influence to solve the question of Polish corridor, although it may be very difficult to solve it.

Every far-sighted German nationalist realizes that the recent development in Anglo-Russian enmity has created a new situation in world politics. In this progressive conflict Germany holds the key position in Europe, if not in the world. German nationalists are not anxious to accept the bribe offered by the British statesmen and make Russia Germany's eternal enemy. German nationalist argument should run as follows :—

In the present world situation, if the German statesmen fail to direct the ship of state in the most far-sighted manner, then Germany will not only fail to reap the advantage, but will be placed in the position of a semi-independent state, for sometime to come. It is needless to point out that Germany's fate to-day does not lie solely in the hands of the German people, on the contrary it largely depends upon the ever-changing international situation. It can never be too strongly emphasised to remind the German people and statesmen that if Germany could have secured an understanding with Russia which would have prevented the formation of the Triple Entente, then there would not have been a World War to crush Germany. If Russia remained neutral in a war against Germany, Germany would have come out victorious. The failure of German diplomacy of the past was directly responsible for Germany's defeat in the World War and the consequent economic and political bankruptcy of to-day.

It may be suggested that an Anglo-German Alliance might have averted a calamity. In 1902 when Germany was approached by Britain to become a party to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Germany had to stay away from such a combination, because it was definitely directed against Russia, with whom Germany had no quarrel. Later on an understanding with Britain could not be arrived at, because Britain wanted that Germany should give up her naval programme and colonial ambitions in Africa. To-day Germany is dispossessed of her colonies and navy ; she is no more an economic rival to Great Britain and so we notice the great solicitude of Great Britain for the welfare of the German nation. Some opportunist German statesmen will possibly ask the German nation to throw in its lot with Great Britain against Russia. To them we have to say that at the time of the Crimean War, Prussia was approached to fight Russia, but Bismarck maintained German neutrality which secured Russian gratitude and friendship. Without this Russo-German friendship there could not have arisen the glorious German Empire. So far as we can see that Germany has no reason to adopt a hostile attitude towards Russia. Germany, following the spirit of neutrality treaty in existence between Russia and Germany, and in accordance with the spirit of Locarno, should remain neutral in the Anglo-Russian conflict. Germany wants peace with all nations and must not make other nations her enemy, just to please the Anglo-American statesmen.

It is now accepted by all that if Sir Edward Grey would have frankly informed the German Government about the existence of the British secret treaties and British determination to fight Germany in case of a war between Germany and Russia or Germany and France, there might not have been a world war. In the present crisis of Anglo-Russian relations, German Government owes it to the German people and the world at large to declare that it will remain neutral and will not participate in the contest between Britain and Russia. Indecision on this question may lead to final destruction of Germany. Certainly Germany wants to recover her full sovereignty and modify the disgraceful treaty of Versailles and wants to assert her national dignity, but she must not play the role of a British hireling to fight the Russians, to gain this end. Opportunism may bring temporary gain for the German nation, but ultimately it may lead her to destruction.

It is tremendously interesting that British statesmen are solicitous to secure Japanese support in China and the Far East against Russia. Mr. Garvin writes :—

"Here we come to our (British) relations with Japan. Nothing but co-operation between the chief foreign Powers can restore peace in China, and ensure the progressive success of a reorganising regime. In that co-operation Japan must play an equal and indispensable part. There nothing effectual can be done without her or against her. Any notion to the contrary is pure delusion. The results of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, as maintained for twenty years, changed the political face of the earth, and revalued all values, as a Nietzschian might say. To denounce that Alliance became a necessity of Anglo-American good will. We regretted the necessity. We knew that the results in the Far East would be as disadvantageous to American interests as to our own. No possible good purpose was served. There never was the remotest possibility that the Anglo-Japanese combination, invaluable as a steadying influence in Asia, ever could be prejudicial in any way to the United States. Now our policy towards Japan is one of sincere friendship and respect. It rises to generous understanding of misunderstandings. It never swerves from recognition that the interests of the Empire of the Mikado in the Chinese question are interests of economic life and death. Both London and Tokyo must wait until Washington moves for real Chinese settlement as well as naval readjustment."

However it is not expected that the Japanese statesmen will adopt a policy of hostility to Russia. Japan in the past depended upon the Anglo-American support in world politics and even fought Russia, not only for Japan's interest, but to serve the cause of Anglo-American supremacy in World Politics. Japan fought the Central Powers to aid the Anglo-American powers, and the only profit Japan has secured from this policy is that after the elimination of German naval power Britain has started the great Singapore naval base and concentration of English and American navies in the Pacific which may some day endanger the very existence of Japan. The Japanese statesmen cannot forget that British journalists as well as naval experts like Mr. Bywater and others have been engaged all over the world to carry on anti-Japanese propaganda. The Japanese statesmen know it well that the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance did not come as a measure to please America, but as a definite result of the Imperial Conference which placed Japan as British rival in World Politics, as in the Imperial Conference of 1907 Germany was picked out to be the future enemy of Great Britain. Japanese statesmen fully realise that the Washington Conference for reduction of armament was called to put a limit to Japanese naval power, and to find out ways and means which might lead to isolation of Japan in World Politics. It is to be noted that the Japanese statesmen and people cannot ignore the passage of the Japanese Exclusion Act by the United States and agitation by the United States that the South American and Central American states may follow her anti-Asian and anti-Japanese policy. Japan has been patient in finding a way out of possible isolation in world politics, and she is now on friendly terms with all nations and paying special attention in cultivating friendship with China and Russia, her neighbours, as well as France, Germany and others. By taking a hostile stand against Russia, Japan has nothing to gain and much to lose, by upsetting the balance of power in favour of Great Britian and America and against herself and other nations. If America and Great Britian have any quarrel with Russia, they must fight it out amongst themselves and Japan must remain neutral in this quarrel. Japan has learnt her lesson by the recent developments of world politics particularly from the attitude of America and England—after the World War.

In the existing world situation, Britain is seeking support from all quarters to aid her against Russia ; and Britain is willing to pay reasonable price in the form of concessions to various powers. Indian statesmen should visualise the world situation and realise that Britain will call upon India to contribute and sacrifice a great deal in any contest between Russia and herself. The Moslem world may be with Russia and in that case the Indian Moslem may object to support Britain unless they are given special concessions in the field of the administration of India, and thus there is the apparent spirit of favouritism towards the Moslem minority of India. World is facing an international crisis and Britain will be seriously involved in it, unless she is willing to pocket the Russian affront now. It is very doubtful that Russo-British conflict can be averted in the future ; and in that crisis, Britain will have to depend upon India for the very existence of the British Empire. British statesmen may well analyse for themselves, if it would be to the best interest of India to sacrifice her man power and economic interests just to serve Great Britain. It may be well for the Indian statesmen to inquire from the British statesmen, if they are willing to pay the price of Indian support in international politics. The least consideration that any self-respecting Indian statesmen can demand is that the humiliating conclusion of the last Imperial Conference, in which India has been placed as inferior to all the so-called white dominions, be wiped out by immediate granting of full dominion status to India. Are the Indian statesmen aware of the potentiality of securing this concession, if they are united enough to make an effective demand, through vigorous participation in world Politics ?

TARAKNATH DAS

REALITY AND RELATIVITY

[This is an essay on the part of the writer, meant to record some feeble strivings to serve the earnest seeker of truth with certain means of protection against the artificial dazzling glare of the modern cultural policy of the world, so that he might, through the help of this, have some glimpse of the almost vanishing "distant mountain hue" of some of the ancient attainments of the people of India. In these days, when a noble patriotic feeling for the love of one's own birth-right is riding high over every mind, it will not be idle perhaps to attempt to turn people's attention to his own much neglected "patrimony" of acroamatic acquisitions. Such an attempt at least may be expected to count as a positive help for a comparative study between the civilisations of the world, ancient and modern, with the view of knowing for certainty, as to whether the present world is progressing towards, or receding from, the direction of acquisition of true knowledge or real experience, which, it must be said, is an aspect of the *activity* of Supreme Experience, the ulterior Reality.]

The idea of Reality, as something existent (*Sat Vastu*), can be conceived, but It cannot be defined properly for human intelligence; although in fact this Reality is the essence and basis of apprehensions of everything existent, however minute it might be—of electrons and of ether even, both of which are more or less objects of supposition for ordinary men. Reality, in Its nature, is a formless substance; so It is supposed to pervade everywhere and penetrate every atom of materiality. Again although It has nothing of substantivity in It, yet it is Reality that manifests materiality. Thus the true nature of Reality is supposed to be Consciousness proper in the form of Supreme Experience, including awareness and sentiency. So that all our conceptions also owe their origin to this Reality. Our experiences, which happen, due to actions and reactions taking place between two portions of this Reality differently situated, are possible only because they react with the fullness of Reality. The word "fullness" here is applicable qualitatively and not quantitatively to Reality; so that a point of Reality is as much a container of all Its contents as the "real whole" of Reality.

Accordingly, the origin of all our experiences is to be traced to the contents of Reality as Supreme Experience. It is thus Reality, which serves the purpose of a general solvent or absorbent for all other experiences. Just as chemistry tells us that all salts possessing water of crystallisation or having water-ions in their composition are liable to be dissolved in water, so, since all our empirical experiences are conceived to have derived their experience-ions from substances that go to build or synthesize into Supreme Experience, on dissolution they are absorbed into this Reality. Our Indian way of expressing this fact is that the salt in solution assumes the same essential liquid form as water; and this is called *Samarasâkâra.* This is equivalent to saying that all elements to form any empirical experience are already potentially present in Supreme Experience, while in its inactive state: and that unless any activity arises in Reality, no manifestation for experience is possible. This is why Mr. J. E. Turner in his work called "Personality and Reality" has conceived that the attributes of active Reality are "complexity, plasticity and activity." The only explanation of such a state of affairs, according to our Shastra, is that *Srishti* or evolution of Reality is beginningless. So that inactive Supreme Experience is always beyond ordinary human apprehension so to say.

It is rather a mistaken notion to attempt to synthesize and arrive at Reality through the functions of mind alone; because mind in its functional aspect occupies a much lower level in the role of evolution of Reality, which is accordingly called *Amanah* or without the instrument of mind (*Antahkarana*). Besides mind is always active, whereas Reality in the beginning of evolution is conveniently conceived, to suit our understanding, to have started from a completely inactive state. Of course mind is a particular mode of active Reality or Supreme Experience. But mind rests in the Self, which is an unit manifestation of the flux of Selfhood—the prime phase of manifestation of active Reality. Thus the Self is a fusion into a single centre of activity or cosmic process of functions, such as—imagination, memory, thought, volition, etc., since the Self is always the subjective aspect in active Reality.

The eternal primordial Reality, of course not in Its absolute inactive aspect, may be called in the language of relativity the universal coherence or continuum, which is nothing else but Cosmic Consciousness. Thus Reality, called *Chit* or Consciousness in the Agamic language, is conceived to consist purely of Experience in its wholeness and fullness in the form of inactive Supreme Experience. While by Its evolutions are produced certain resultant delimitations or dimensionalisation in It caused by the instrumentality of *Mâyâ* through Her powers of "superposition" (*Āvaranî*) and "stultifications" (*Vikshepa*), that causes the apprehension of all empirical experiences.

As the result of the activities of these powers of *Mâyâ*, the process of delimitation grew out of the self-movement of Reality, which ultimately veiled the Supreme Experience; and the creation appears quite in a different light from reality, and tends more and more towards artificiality. Mind and Matter arose thus as *Vrittis* or modes of Consciousness or Supreme Experience, which appears as the Unchanging basis of all empirical experiences of living beings. So that it is to be remembered always that *Jîva* or embodied souls evolve, body and soul, out of and as forming parts of this Reality, although they are eternally engaged in apprehending the artificiality of the phenomenal world only. From this, accordingly, we may deduce that all empirical experiences merely carry us further and further from the actual centre of true Knowledge. It is no doubt a settled point now-a-days that the phenomenal world including our own selves owe their origin and existence, as they stand, to some sort of movement happening in the cosmic continuum, which surely is an evolute of the Absolute Reality. So there is no escape out of this motional sphere so long as the manifested world exists. And under the circumstance, the only convenient motion, to help one to apprehend the real truth, would be to have a circular translatory motion round the central point of awakened Supreme Experience, with the least variable radial distance from such centre. Such an aim of course is attainable *by keeping the face always turned towards this central point*, like the status of a dead satellite round a planet; *i.e.*, by always thinking of and comparing with the source.

From this source we derive our idea of Reality in our sense, and say that It is a subtle psychical medium homogeneously pervading everywhere. This sole Reality has cognising power, since It is Consciousness Itself called *Chit-svarûpa*, and It becomes cognoscible in evolution for the same reason. Any movement taking place in this medium would be psychical in nature; but for our better understanding we may describe it in the mechanical sense nevertheless. In this homogeneous medium no sort of locomotion is possible unless heterogeneity is first created therein by the Will of the One to become many. At first this Will is supposed to generate whirling motions within the body of the medium, whereby the centres of the whirls became condensed, and consequently their surrounding areas comparatively rarefied. Of course by locomotion here is meant—locomotion of the effect of condensation of Consciousness, in the mechanical sense, resembling the conception of electromagnetic fields being carried by Ether in accordance with the theory of relativity. These condensed points in the motional medium of the psychical presence assumed the form of a flux of Selfhood called *Asmitâ* or "I-ness," the subjective aspect. Accordingly the not-"I" portions of *Chit* became *Idam* or "This," or that which appeared as other than "I." This is the first differentiation in the form of a subjectivation-objectivation process taking place in Consciousness. But what is Consciousness—It has been translated as Supreme Experience; because this Consciousness is both the material cause and the instrumental cause of all our experiences. Accordingly we say that our experiences are due to the knowing of the like by the like.

We have already noted that Consciousness or *Chit* is a psychical principle, so that Its movements are always to be considered from psychical as well as mechanical aspects. Supreme Experience may be defined as a diffused collectivity of all sorts of experiences, that for the purpose of evolution first gets condensed into cognising centres. This central or punctualised, condensed and cognising aspect lasts up to the time of final dissolution of such evolution or manifestation, *i.e.*, until the happening of a coalescence of the subject with its objects. The latter term surely implies apprehensions of objects by a subject consciousness. So that evolution practically signifies manifestation of Consciousness or Reality to Its condensed and subjectified aspect. But what does establish the connection between the subject and this manifestation—it is some sort of potency called *Shakti* inherent in the subject, which is technically known as *Yoginí*. How this *Yogini* causes variations in experience will be explained later on while proceeding with the exposition of the process as understood by the Indian psychology.

Through the comparative study of the civilisations of the world in the light of Reality, one may expect to be able to realise some day the true worth of the acroamatic acquisitions of the ancient Indians. In this study, however, it is not safe and wise to be led by any jealous opinion of people, who we daresay can never be supposed to have direct realisation of the truth of any metaphysical and spiritual fact required for properly appreciating the activity of Reality, for want of competency, as enjoined by the ancient Indian system of culture in that behalf. In connection with this, it should be borne in mind that without *Sádhaná*, metaphysical and spiritual facts are seldom apprehended in their true light by the help of intellect or *Buddhi* alone. So in matters metaphysical and spiritual it is always prudent to be guided by the sayings of personages who had direct realisation of them through *Sâdhanâ*. This question of competency called *Bhûmikâ-bheda* has been eminently discussed by Bhâskararâya in the commencement of his "Setu-Bandha," a commentary on the "Vâmakeshvara Tantra." This has been made accessible to English readers by Sir John Woodroffe in his contribution under the head "Conflict of Shâstras." The gist whereof is that the different branches of knowledge, that go to build up complete knowledge, are eligible only in accordance with the competencies acquired by the aspiring seekers respectively; and not otherwise. Surely competency requires purification of mind first.

The modern so-called advancement of the world, whose only cry is cry for gold for indulging in luxury, bristles with the tempting glow of materialistic principles, and has cast the spiritual side into complete shadow. So much so, that one must proceed very cautiously to discern the "distant mountain hue," properly shielding his eyes from the glare of material gold. No body can deny that by a materialistic survey pure and simple of the universe one becomes liable to lose sight of Eternity, which really lies beyond the limits of objective time altogether. The physical materialist thinks that this world is all, and there is no past nor future beyond the present. Naturally enough to such a limited thinker the idea of this Reality is absolutely incomprehensible. He cannot conceive that it is quite possible to have a timeless moment in future, when past, present and future will all coalesce to form one Existence, which, in Its ultimate homogeneity will be beyond four-demensionality even. Perhaps the scientist will not hesitate to admit that the soul is indestructible. But to where does this indestructibility lead? Surely to a sort of coalesced or undifferentiated Existence or Beingness (*Sattâ*), leading towards an ultimate Absolute stage. This undifferentiated state is named by the Indian *Kâlavâdins* as *Mahâkâla*, the root cause of evolution and the destination of involution of the universe. This *Mahâkâla* is an aspect of Consciousness or Supreme Experience, the ultimate Reality, vitalised by a mere generic introspective activity. Due to the effect of activity or motion that arises in Consciousness to cause the evolution of the universe to set in, It at first assumed a subjectified-objectified aspect of differentiation in One; and the relation between these aspective evolutions, ultimately when the subjectified and the objectified aspects separated from each other, induced a perception of time-order in the already subjectified Supreme Experience, that resulted in the experience based on *Kálatattva*, as we shall see later on.

The above consideration leads us to think of the question of evolution of Reality as conceived by the Indian *Shástras*, which say that creation commenced with a motion (*Spandana*), that ultimately resulted in locomotions taking place within the body of Reality. But the effects of *Spandana* created whirling motions at first in the homogeneous medium, which ultimately opened out into locomotions, like the uncoiling of a coiled spring. But as often as the spring was let alone, the coiled aspect returned and the psychical centre resumed its original introspective habit. Accordingly the notion of a mechanistic locomotion forming the first objective presentation to its subjective centre of a psychical .presence in a motional sphere was the inception of the idea of Space, which appeared as a presentation called *Tatatva*. But this presentation on being identified with the subjectified centre or the perceiving Self, due to resumption of introspective attitude, became subjectified and assumed the form of a subjectified psychical experience of a gliding motion of Self over the presentation already presented; thus creating a sensation of time-order. The Self must have been the first limited psychical experience of centralised or punctualised Supreme Experience as a " self-feeling " or *Asmitá* in the form of the apprehension of the existence of Self ; and the above subjectified experience became the inception of the intuition of Time and is technically called *Santatatva*. Thus space is defined by motion but time is the result of subjectivation of the first objective presentation, both which sensations, when felt as simultaneous events, will create a four-dimensional experience, and otherwise the empirical experiences of daily life by veiling the Supreme Experience.

It is through the help of these notions of *Tatatva* and *Santatatva*, that we generally proceed to imagine that the phenomenal universe is being constantly conveyed towards Eternity; since the notions of space and of time, thus first created, arose as the effects of a psychical locomotion, but Eternity is the idea of cessation of all such motions; yet it is not a motionless state. Now what is this Eternity—can it possibly be conceived to be an experience of dead-rest? It cannot be, for in that case its very conception by human intellect would be an impossibility; since all human conceptions originate out of motion only in the substance conceived. Eternity leads to the introspective stage of Reality in Dissolution at first and then to the theory of cycle (*Kalpa*) in creation, which is admitted more or less by everybody. As has been said above, *Kála* is a *Tattva* or phase of evolving Consciousness, and *Tattvas* are experiences arising out of a combination of apprehensions of motional or mechanistic and psychical aspects of movements of Consciousness or *Chit*, resulting in the experiences of *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* respectively; so *Mahákála*, the embryonic container of the potentialities of the intuitions of space and of time, can never possibly be a dead-rest, since it will manifest again as a conscious psychical presence.

With the hope of warning busy readers, it might be said, that a cursory perusal of the subjects in hand might mislead such readers, in forming a notion altogether wrong concerning them; accordingly these are not to be treated in the light of an after-dinner amusement on the easy chair. The Indian readers specially, who are imbued in imitating Western ideas in every item of their life, and so are wanting in originality more or less, are sure first to fall easy victims to such a misconception. From the time perhaps the latter had begun learning the spelling of words, they never in their life saw an opportunity to care for knowing the worth of their own "patrimony" of knowledge. On the other hand they have been trained in such a way as to believe beyond doubt, that as far as knowledge is concerned, whatever has not come from the West is not worth knowing. And no wonder: for they never were in possession of, nor ever sought of their own accord to possess, their inheritance. Thus it is not at all a matter of surprise to hear such hasty and ill-equipped readers saying that perhaps in these pages a futile attempt has been directed to reconcile some of the ancient rusty principles of Indian philosophy with the machine-polished theories of modern science and philosophy of the Western *Gurus*. But a careful perusal of these pages is expected, however, to convince such readers, that these Western *Gurus* have up to now not been able to make any real progress in the direction of knowledge of the Absolute and so of *Jnana*, to come within hailing distance of the attainments of Indian hoary sages of pre-historic ages. What the former are still labouring at in this direction are things of past achievements in the East, already discovered centuries ago.

The same grand principle, which the modern western mind is striving to achieve through the theory of relativity, was in essence realised and excelled long ago by the sages of this sacred land : so, notwithstanding the fact that they used to live in search of Truth in secluded forests by way of retirement from the world and upon fruits and roots spontaneously grown there, they should not be supposed to have lived in vain and remained completely innocent of the knowledge of briskness so essential for the maintenance of the modern busy world. Of course in one sense it may be, that they were probably more fortunate in finding the world less artificial than what it is at present ; but that is only a guess.

Thus, knowledge in its absolute sense is the Knowledge of the Absolute, the Reality, the Unchangeable, in Its active aspect. But the activities in the physical world—not to consider the psychical world at all, as in the case of heavenly bodies in the universe as also the electrons composing the material bodies—generate such a complexity of motions in a motional but physical sphere, that it becomes next to impossibility for a cognising being to analyse truly any such motion, unless a body of reference, thought of to be in rest in comparison with the moving bodies, be assigned to for the purpose. The velocities of these motions are the true elements to generate the idea of motion in the mind of the observer. But the velocity of such a mind is something beyond all comprehension as a psychical activity ; whereas the motions of material bodies in the universe are presentations merely of mechanical motions of objective material bodies. Accordingly the relativity theory refers to the position on earth of the observer in every calculation, making allowance for the motion of the earth and the velocity of light. So that all notions of presentations arising in a motional sphere are due to relativity of individual motions happening therein. This relativity is ascertained by referring to a body of reference, which is conceived to be at rest during a trice of a moment in its motional career. This brings home to us the idea of time as co-operating with the idea of space in the true ascertainment of any motional aspect of a moving body in the physical world. But for this consideration the value of time should be taken as low and instantaneous as is possible, but the effect of the motion should be felt as wide-spread as is possible. Thus we are led to fall back on the velocity of light as the highest velocity known to us. From this it is easy to find, that when the value of time is zero and that of space is infinity the effect of motion becomes ubiquitous—an idea that ends to establish the omnipresence of God.

Up to now we were discussing of objective time, as known to science, *i.e.*, time perceived as an objective 'presentation to a cognising subject. This principle is applicable in the physical world ; but in the psychical world, time is always conceived as a subjective process ; because the Indian psychology tells us that all objective presentations in the psychical world ultimately merges in the subject consciousness, and then creates an experience. Now the psychical world is also a motional sphere, wherein the subject, the idea of rest in motion, is also a psychically moving substance. So that here again we can apply the principles of theory of relativity to our advantage. In the psychical world the idea of space and the idea of time are both subjective experiences, *i.e.*, they are felt in identification with the feeling of the subject as "self-feeling," which has been so called by Dr. Eriksen. This subject or "self-feeling" is a mode or modification of universal consciousness immanent in us. So that in the psychical world we are always busy with active aspects both subjective and objective of Consciousness or *Chit*, and the experience of space and time become also modifications of this *Chit*. Here we may say that *Chit*, whose content is unlimited and undirected Supreme Experience, first gets directed and dimensionalised or conditioned by the notions of space and of time, as we shall see later on. Accordingly the co-ordination of the notions of space and of time is supposed to present a four-dimensional aspect of the modification of Consciousness ; since space conditions the experience in three dimensions and time in the remaining other dimension required to form a simultaneous experience of a motional presentation. Regarding this idea of simultaneity, it ought to be noted, that it conveys the idea of coincidence of two events happening in a motional sphere in an instant, the smallest possible conceivable unit moment of time in the physical world. But in the psychical world this must be the coincidence of at least two psychical motions, creating the ideas of space and time as combined together or arising conjointly. Thus the resting place sought for the purpose of reference-body is this idea of simultaneity in the psychical world.

Surely philosophy, whether ancient or modern, always seeks for a body of reference as a resting place in some idea of the Absolute, which, for the monistic idea, is One and one for ever as the fundamental Reality. So that, by evolution is meant that this one Reality undergoes all sorts of aspective modifications to create the phenomenal world. But of all these modifications the first and prime aspect assumed by Reality is felt as the creation of the Self, which has been named by Mr. J. E. Turner as the "Dominant reality" ; because this is the subjective aspect assumed by Reality as Supreme Experience in substance, which will last up to the final Dissolution of creation. This is also called the *Asmitá* or "self-feeling" aspect. So that this subject aspect of *Asmitá*, called *Shiva* by *Āgama* philosophy, is the groundwork or basis to form the apprehension of world-manifestation on. Accordingly in the psychical world this subjective aspect of Consciousness or *Chit* is considered the reference body. The Indian *Āgama* philosophy calls this subjective aspect *Ahantá* in contradiction with *Idantá*, which means that whatever existent there is and is not *Ahantá* is *Idantá*. Oldness or newness are attributes not properly applicable to a changeless, eternal Beingness (*Sattá*) like this Reality, which is nothing less than the ideal Absolute. It is no exaggeration to say that the western world is none the less labouring under a perpetual disadvantage of being compelled to throw overboard every now and then, on the discovery of a new materialistic fact, old ideas that perhaps had worked as a theory for over half a century. Euclid and Newton are going to be dethroned by Einstein.

We should not forget that artificiality is the opposite pole to Reality. And it is quite true that the Indian philosophies, being free from all the vicissitudes of modern Western philosophies, are generally condemned to have attained too crystallised an aspect, which is considered as absolutely unfit to suit the needs of the modern so-called progressive theory of the world. But by keeping pace with the vicissitudes of the phenomenal world no one can expect to reach the regions of Reality easily. Besides one cannot refrain from saying that to the present progressive world, whereby is undoubtedly meant the artificial world, the shore is not yet in sight ; neither, when will it be, can be positively said. Does not the word "progress" itself imply changefulness ? In connection with this, it may be said that *Shiva* is the principle of changelessness or immutability, which is the background called *Chit* ; and *Shakti* is the principle of all changefulness, common to the phenomenal world. Thus the Western science is ever busy with the Shakti-aspect of the material universe alone. Surely it is a pity, that the present Indians have climbed down much from the altitude of their forefathers, concerning, amongst others, the attainment of the knowledge of the absolute or *Jnāna* proper, and consequently of what is meant by *Shiva* and *Shakti.*

A real truth, like the knowledge of the absolute, will seldom tarnish by a materialist's derisive eye being turned towards it ; and neither is it a table-delicacy to stand the brewer's test of ageing it, in the light of the modern cultural policy of setting value to any foreign idea. The truth regarding Reality generally deals with things of higher dimensions, and at times does actually surpass all idea of dimension altogether—to say nothing of four-dimensionality only. Accordingly time, as we ordinarily understand the term to mean, should not be counted as an element to estimate the worth of any Truth regarding Absolute Reality.

Of course by dimension, one is to understand the limitation or condition brought about on *Chit* or Supreme Experience, which is to last up to the end of the phenomenal world, through some variation in velocity of Its initial vibration. The elements in the estimation of velocity are the notions of space and time in a paticular combination. But a simultaneous subjective perception of space and time, as when the value of time is almost zero, will create a space-time experience of motion, which is the experience of four-dimensionality. Prof. Eddington says that—"In the so-called 'four-dimensional' world of the relativity theory the past and future lie, as it were, mapped out along with the near and distant. Each event is there in its proper relation to surrounding events ; but events never seem to undergo what has been described as 'the formality of taking place.' Here is what Prof. Weyl says about it ; 'It is a four-dimensional continuum (which is *Mahâkâla*) which is neither time nor space. Only the consciousness that passes on in one portion of this world experiences the detached piece which comes to meet it and passes behind it as history, that is as a process that goes forward in time and takes place in space."

If objective time is to be taken into consideration, then one should not forget, that the ancients were more in proximity than the present world to the real source of knowledge, *viz.*, the Supreme Experience, this we say in point of evolution ; so that their knowledge was less contaminated by admixture with artificiality than ours.

As against any charge of reading modern notions into ancient views, one cannot do better than simply remain thankful to his own system of education, which is surely the only light through which it is possible for him to see at all. It may be said here regarding this system of education that it should not be a system that makes human intellect solely dependent upon the mechanical or mechanistic side of things, neglecting the psychical and so intuitional propensities altogether. The present world seems to be quite forgetful of the fact that the universe must rely on a material as well as on a spiritual basis positively. Any attempt to understand ancient views must be by looking at them in the light of the present system of education based on modern thought, as is not totally antagonistic to the ancient ones ; because that is the only way open for such an attempt. Otherwise such ancient views and doctrines, prompted more by intuitional and psychical realisations, would simply appear as chimerical hallucinations. They can only be read "in the light as far as possible of the inferred pre-suppositions and inner arguments" of the minds of the ancient seers ; and so for the purpose, one should refer to all the available writings of those seers, with a firm belief that they were far more wise than what any one of the present day is prepared to give them credit for.

Rivers may flow through different channels, but will ultimately end in the ocean ; of course at different points of it, showing different aspects of the same ocean. Again, the shallower the river the more likely it is to be dried up the sooner, even before reaching the ocean. Further, the biggest rivers in India draw their supply mainly from the clouds, and the clouds in their turn, from the ocean ; but the same rivers are again lost in the same ocean. So it is futile to attempt to assert that philosophical notions, like the commerce of some crumenal or purse-loving people, can be branded as the sole monopoly of particular sets of inhabitants of the earth. Everything arise out of, and all subside in, the same ocean of Truth or Reality, which is Supreme Experience ; since the doctrine of *tabula rasa* is absolutely untenable by the principles of Indian philosophies.

Nowadays it can boldly be said that this ocean of Truth is one and one only (it must be so—true knowledge can never vary), which, every civilised nation on the face of the earth, that can claim a philosophy of its own, is trying to learn to be the root cause of the phenomenal universe and so to realise it as the fundamental Reality. The Āgama philosophy, in its *Shāuta* form, did realise the fact long ago ; and what modern world is trying now to find out through the absolute side of the relativity theory, namely the idea of the Absolute, by establishing an universal coherence between the phenomenal world and its ultimate cause, forms the groundwork of all Indian sacraments, both ritual (funeral or hymeneal) or otherwise, intended for the proper realisation of the cosmic consciousness and the ephemeral nature of all phenomenality.

But how from One this diversified phenomenal world arose as many, to explain that is not a very easy task to undertake. Great many giant geniuses of different ages, according to their respective ability, have directed their energy to unravel the mystery ; but none seem to have succeeded so triumphantly as the Indian sages. However, to arrive at a final conclusion on this point, as to how far who has succeeded better, the best test will be to compare notes. Accordingly it is, amongst others, with such an intention the present enterprise has been undertaken. In connection with this, one should not forget that—"however dogmatic a system of philosophical enquiry may appear to us, it must have been preceded by a criticism of the observed facts of knowledge"—there is great force in this argument of Prof. Surendra Nath Das Gupta.

Indian philosophy is generally charged by the pragmatic European mind as being purely of a speculative nature, serving no useful purpose for the benefit of the present-day humanity in its ordinary daily life. Of course, if materialism pure and simple, that only engenders artificiality and so criminal or mercenary propensities more easily than anything else, be taken as the highest aim of human life on this earth, then the Indian philosophy is no doubt much deficient in that respect and quite incompetent to cope with the purpose of the present world. But one cannot refrain from saying here that this is rather taking too poor and narrow a view of the aim of philosophy. The chief object and real aim of the Indian philosophers of yore (who vastly excelled in self-denial the present civilised world and used to look upon present life as a grand opportunity offered to improve future existence in rebirth) were to benefit posterity and bring peace and knowledge into the world. There is no denial that a legacy of true knowledge was more valuable in their opinion than the luxuries obtainable by wealth.

When the existence of a fundamental Reality and that of an initial vibration, for manifestation thereof as the universe, be admitted, then it becomes self-evident that the world is an order or Cosmos, wherein all beings and things are inter-related and vitally concerned to keep up the world-show as a whole. The interest of none therein can be neglected or overlooked with the false hope of making human life generally a happy one. The true observance of, and proper compliance with, this inter-relation and interest are, according to Sir John

Woodroffe, called *Bhárata Dharma* or religion. It should never be forgotten for a moment that the observance of and compliance with the cosmic order is the highest duty in man's life ; any violation therefrom is sure to tell on the welfare of the world, either immediately or remotely. Accordingly this compliance is called Righteousness. Why does young people run amock—surely in great many cases for want of better examples in their elders. Besides, it is a common proverb that grandfather's sins generally visit the grandchildren. All efforts to conform with and preserve the cosmic order are therefore sure means to self-realisation, that holds in check all the natural evil propensities of human nature. Sir John Woodroffe has said—"all religions are agreed in the essentials of morality and hold that selfishness, in its widest sense is the root of sin and crime (*Adharma*)." To properly understand the above relations and interest, it is absolutely necessary to consider both the material and the spiritual sides of every phenomenon in the universe ; and not to sacrifice or neglect one side, for some apparent or immediate benefit, to the other side, by being solely prompted thereto by some individual sordid motive, either under the garb of state- or trade-policy. For this reason none can deny that a proper appreciation of the organic psychical as well as the motional or mechanistic aspects of Reality is not an essential help for the realisation of the cosmic order. Hence the importance of studying the subject of cosmic evolution from a pragmatic's point of view, apart from its other good and really beneficial effects. There is no doubt that such a study goes a great way to help humanity to build its own character on a truly firm basis. Besides, a sure appreciation of the cosmic order is of great use to enable mankind to rightly cope with all sorts of trammels of worldly life.

The relativity theory conceives the significance of space and time and is quite different from what we understand it to mean in the physical world. Ordinarily we understand these terms to mean something outside our own selves, *i. e.*, they represent objective presentations to the subjective Self. But according to relativity theory these are subjective conceptions : so much so that Mr. Bertrand Russell says that—"Measurements of distances and times do not directly reveal properties of the things measured, but relations of the things to the measurer." Similarly our *tatatva* and *Santatatva* experiences are absolutely subjective conceptions depending upon the sensation of Self as "self-feeling."

Again the relativity theory abolishes the idea of force (including gravitation) from the phenomenal world, and says that bodies move in curves because these curves appear to the moving bodies as the routes of "least action" to them. The *Āgama* philosophy also gives one active principle called *Shakti*, which has been rendered as Power. We may also say, that due to *Shakti*, motions are created having two aspects—motional and psychical. As the result of the former aspect, extension is perceived ; whilst the latter induces the idea of intension. Thus a curve is described due to the effects of these extension and intension tendencies of the moving presentation.

Besides the above, there are other points of semblance between the principles of relativity theory and the doctrines of *Āgama* philosophy ; and we shall notice them as we proceed in our discourses.

BEPIN BEHARI NEWGIE

SOME EARLY BUDDHIST MISSIONARIES OF PERSIA IN CHINA

China came in contact with the Iranian world for the first time towards the end of the 2nd century before Christ when Chang Kien, the famous Chinese explorer came back to China (126 B. C.) after a long absence of twelve years. Chang Kien was sent to negotiate with the western powers, specially with the Scythians, established at that time in the valley of the Oxus, in view of forming an alliance against the Huns who were a formidable menace to the empire. Though the political mission of Chang Kien did not immediately succeed he brought definite information about the kingdoms which were flourishing at that time in the western region—specially *Ta-yuan* (Ferganah), *K'ang Kiu* (Sogdiana), *Ngan-si* (Parthia), etc.

Subsequently when the first official embassy of China was sent to Parthia under the reign of Emperor Wu-ti (140 86B. C.), the King of the country ordered twenty thousand cavalry to meet them on the eastern frontier and entertained them well. All the Chinese annals trace their relation with Parthia from this date. Parthia came to be known to the Chinese as *Ngan-si* through the name of the dynasty ruling over Parthia in that period namely the Arsacidan. Ngan-si (An-si) in ancient Chinese pronunciation would give as Ar-šak (Arsak). The description of the country, as given by the Chinese historains ef that period answer very well to the empire of the Arsacides. "The king of the country of Ngan-si (Parthia) rules at the city of *P'an-tou* (Parthava? *παρθοι* of Herodotus). It bounds north on *K'ang Kiu* (Sogdiana), east on *Wu-yi-shanli* (Alexandra, *i.e.*, Herat), west on *T'iao-che* (Chaldea). Several hundred small and large cities are subject to it and the country is several thousand *li* in extent, that is a very large country.

It lies on the banks of the *Kuei-shwei* (the Oxus). The carts and ships of their merchants go to the neighbouring countries.'' [1]

Parthia was, in this period, playing an important role in the eastern commerce. The Chinese commodities passed to the Roman world through Parthia. The Chinese soon came to know about this western power, the territory of which was bounded on Parthia on the east and felt the necessity of coming in direct touch with the Roman orient (called *Ta ts'in,* by the Chinese). In 97 A. D. the famous general Pan-chao during his Central-Asian campaigns sent a certain Kan-ying as ambassador to the Roman orient (*Ta-ts'in*). He arrived in *Tiao-che* (Chaldea) on the coast of the great sea. When about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of Ngan-si (Parthia) told Kan-ying that the voyage was a long and a terrible one. Kan-ying therefore returned home without fulfilling his mission. Direct relation with the Roman orient was established as late as 166 A.D. when an embassy of Marcus Aurelius Antonius reached Tonkin (then a Chinese province), with presents. The 'motive of this embassy was very probably to ruin the monopoly of eastern trade which Parthia was exercising by the land route. The Roman world wanted to have direct commercial relation with China. The official relation was established but we do not know how far the project of direct commerce was realised.

Whatever it might have been there was an active commercial relation between China and the Parthian world in the beginning of the Christian era. It is very probable that the Parthian merchants had formed a community by themselves in the capital of China (*Si-ngan-fu*) already in this period. The existence of such communities of different nationalities, Indian, Persian, Indo-Chinese, etc., are attested in a later age. Whatever might have been the position of the foreigners in the capital of China during the first centuries of the Christian era, it is certain that the commercial exchange of the merchants of different countries facilitated also an intellectual co-operation and China gradually began to get interested in foreign religion, art and literature.[1]

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[1] F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 139-140.

It was in this period in 148 A.D. that a Parthian Buddhist missionary reached the capital of China with the intention of propagating the new religion, He is known as Ngan She-kao or She-kao the Parthian.[2] If She-kao be a Buddhist church name it may be reconstructed as *Lokottama*. He was prince of real royal descent of Parthia and most probably of the Arsacidan dynasty. From his childhood he had a religious bent of mind; so he abdicated the throne in favour of his uncle, embraced Buddhism and became a monk. He devoted himself to the study of the Buddhist scripture and determined to travel in different centres of Buddhist learning, evidently for a better knowledge of the scriptures. Though it is not known if he ever visited India, he certainly was acquainted with some Indian language (probably, Sanskrit) as is evident from the vast number of translations of Buddhist texts he made into Chinese. He travelled extensively and reached China in 148 A.D. He worked there till 168 A.D. and is said to have translated 176 Buddhist texts. Fifty-five of his translations still exist in the present collection of the Chinese Tripitaka published from Japan. We have no sure information about the end of She-kao, but all traditions agree in relating that after 168 A.D. She-kao travelled in South China for preaching Buddhism till the end of the century when he met with some mishap which caused his death.

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[1] For the commercial relation between China and Persia, and for the names of Persian commodities preserved in Chinese and the Chinese commodities preserved in Persia, see the work of Berthold Laufer—*Sino-Iranica*.

[2] The Chinese had the habit of adding a prefix to the name of a foreigner to indicate his nationality. An element of the name of the country was generally prefixed to the name of the person, *e.g.* She-Kao of Parthia (Ngan-si)—*Ngan* She-Kao; Seng hoeui of Sogdiana (K'ang-Kiu)—*K'ang* Seng houei; Nandi of India (T'ien chu)—*Chu* Nan-ti, etc. In the Buddhist Church of China, the pious disciple of a foreign teacher sometimes used to attribute to himself the same nationality as his teacher, *e.g.*, Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) born of Scythian parents in Ka-usu used to call himself *Chu* Fa-hu as his teacher was an Indian. There are many other similar cases.

The fifty-five works which still exist amply show that She-kao was very well-read in the Buddhist scriptures. Many of them are judicious selections from the mass of Buddhist texts and the translations, though not literal, are good adaptations of the original texts, many of which are missing. She-kao was not satisfied only with the work, he did himself but founded a school of translators which did such an admirable work that it came to be known as "*unrivalled.*" In this school, there were Sogdian, Scythian and Indian monks working side by side for the propagation of Buddhism, and Buddhist scripture.

Buddhism was introduced in China in the year 2 B.C. and the first missionaries, Dharmaratna and Kāśyapa Mātaṅga are said to have come to China in 65 A.D. They translated four or five texts, one of which still exists. But the informations on these two first preachers are all very hazy and do not seem to be very reliable. Real history of the Buddhist literature in China begins with the works of She-kao and his collaborators, though it is certain that some of the works attributed to him are either later additions or apocryphal. The very style proves it. But many of them are, without doubt, authentic. We will not enter here into a detailed discussion of his works. Almost all of them are texts from the *Âgamas* (corresponding to the Pâli *nikâyas*, but greatly differing from the latter). Though some Mahâyâna texts are attributed to him, they seem to be spurious. An important question, about the original language of the texts translated by She-kao, has not been replied to. It is certain that it was not Pâli. A study of the transcription of proper names do not allow us to say that the original language of these texts was Sanskrit either. We have two alternatives to suppose, either an Indian Prakrit, or an Iranian language which She-kao learnt easily. An analysis of the Chinese Âgamas might prove one day, that some of these Âgama texts, specially those translated by Parthian or Sogdian monks are of Iranian *provenance* and point to an incomplete

Iranian version of the comparatively more ancient part of the Buddhist scripture.

From Ngan She-kao, we pass to two other Parthian names Ngan Hiuan and Ngan Fa-K'in. Ngan Hiuan came to Singan-fu in 181 A.D. as a merchant. On account of some distinguished services, which he rendered to the public, he received an official favour and was made "the chief officer of cavalry." But his temperament was religious and he therefore joined the Buddhist community founded by She-kao and devoted himself to study. He translated two Buddhist texts into Chinese and both of them exist in the present collection of the Tripiṭaka. Ngan Fa K'in came to Si-ngan-fu in 281 A.D. and translated Buddhist texts till 306 A.D. Five works are ascribed to him, and two of these still exist.

These few names of the early period have been preserved along with the names of other translators. But they are sufficient to point to a past history which now remains forgotten. They break the silence of this voiceless past and present new problems to us, which remains to be answered. We do not know as yet anything about the propagation of Buddhism in Persia as early as the beginning of the Christian era. The conversion of Ngan She-kao presupposes the presence of Buddhists in the capital of the Arsacides and their history is still to be traced out. The Parthian monks who went to China are not isolated figures and are only landmarks in the history of Indo-Parthian relation.

P. C. BAGCHI

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND FRENCH INFLUENCE

There is a common impression that Thomas Jefferson's political ideas were borrowed from French sources, that his "democracy" was French "democracy"......that it was "caught" in the French Revolution.

William Ellery Curtis,[1] in his life of Jefferson, says, "His long residence in Paris made him an ardent admirer of the French People, and an enthusiastic champion of the French Revolution, which had a powerful influence in shaping his own political convictions."

Again, he says, "His plan of government was acquired from the French Revolution."[2] Also the old Federalist (using the word in its partisan sense) ideal of Jefferson is shown in the remarks attributed to Daniel Webster that "Jefferson was addicted to French tastes, French manners, and French principles. Often unjustly attacked by them, the Federalist yet did him no injustice in charging upon him a preference for French opinions, whether in politics, morals, or religion."

"He used to dwell with pleasure upon his acquaintance with D'Alembert, Condorcet, and others of the Liberal philosophy, and often spoke of the conversation of Madame Duffard, at which he was a frequent and not undistinguished guest."[3] But Henry S. Randall[4] says, "The errors in this saying can be easily proved because, death had closed the doors of Du Duffard's 'Conversazioni' some years before Jefferson arrived in France! And we think D'Alembert died in 1783.

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[1] See William Ellery Curtis, "Life of Thomas Jefferson," pp. 147-8.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 288.

[3] See H. S. Randall: "The Life of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. I, p. 492.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 492.

Thus it has been the fashion to say the feelings and ideas gathered by Jefferson in France constituted the predominant influence throughout his subsequent political career. In this there is much exaggeration and toward him much injustice. The object of this paper is to show that his political ideas were not borrowed from a French source.

Jefferson's connection with France began in 1784. He was a man of mature years when he went abroad, and had been busy from early youth, alike in theory and practice, with the political and social problems of the government. The originality of his disposition and the radical temper of his mind had made themselves felt from the outset, and were only confirmed, not created, by his foreign experience. As John T. Morse[1] says, "Neither was his affection for France nor his antipathy to England, then first implanted. Both sentiments were strong before he crossed the Atlantic; they were only encouraged by the pleasures of his long residence in one country, and the convictions borne in upon him during his brief stay in the other." "He would always have been a radical, an extreme democrat, a hater of England, a lover of France, a sympathizer with the French Revolutionists, though he never sailed out of sight of American shores."

At the outset it can be shown from Jefferson's letters written from France to Mr. Carmichael[2] when he heard of "Shay's insurrection" that these expressions of his, implying a pitch of democracy he never afterwards exceeded, were made before there was a revolution in France. He wrote, "These people are not entirely without excuse.......However, I am satisfied the good sense of the people is the strongest army our governments can ever have, and that it will not fail them."

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[1] See John T. Morse: "The American Statesman Series, T. Jefferson," pp. 79-130.

[2] See Randall: Vol. I, p. 59.

In order to thresh out the question of his indebtedness to French thought, it is better to examine his connection with France. While he was a student in William and Mary College[1] he studied "to some extent French." That was the beginning of his connection with French thought. But there is no proof positive that he studied seriously and systematically current French thought in his student life.

In 1774, while a member of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, he penned his first political essay, called by Edmund Burke "The Summary View of the Rights of British America."[2] This was extreme and contained every idea that is to be found in the Declaration of Independence. It claimed the same "inherent" and "natural" rights.

Here we find the radical philosophy of Jefferson in its rudimentary form, and no trace of French is to be found here.

Then comes the Declaration of Independence written by Jefferson in 1775. "This Declaration," says John H. Hazelton[3] in his "History of the Declaration of Independence," is now proved undoubtedly to be Jefferson's own work and does not evince any borrowing from any source either prior or contemporary.

William Ellery Curtis[4] says, "Many charge this Declaration of Independence as a bad piece of composition,—plagiarized from various authors." But no one has ever found out the source of such alleged plagiarisms.

Even Curtis, who is emphatic in his statements that French thought "had a powerful influence in shaping Jefferson's own political convictions" cannot trace any French source for the Declaration.

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[1] Morse, p. 5.

[2] "The Jeffersonian Cyclopedia", edited by John P. Foley, p. 963.

[3] John H. Hazelton: "The Declaration of Independence—its History," Chap. VI, pp. 161-180.

[4] Curtis, p. 120.

George Otto Treveleyan[1] in his book "The American Revolution," Part Two, says of this declaration that it is said its "author was a Plagiarist. It was an imitation of the state papers of the Long Parliament; it owed much to Locke, and much to Milton, and still more to Rousseau."

Jefferson's observations[2] on these charges are: "I did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas and offer no sentiment which had ever been expressed before." "Also I turned neither book nor pamphlet in writing it." (*His works—1853-VII, p. 315*).

Thus Jefferson himself dismisses this charge of plagiarism. Many attempts have been made to impeach the originality of this paper, and to prove Jefferson's debt to foreign sources. It was claimed that it contained many ideas already advanced by other writers, but on close investigation we find that if Jefferson borrowed from his predecessors at all it was rather from the British than from the French.

As the object of this paper is to trace the influence of the French philosophy on the politics of Jefferson, we can waive aside the charge that he borrowed his political ideas from an English source, and discuss only the supposed French influence on his political thought.

As far as I know the political principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence show no trace of French influence and this was written in 1775.

On the 7th of May, 1784, Jefferson was appointed minister plenipotentiary to act in conjunction with Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin in negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations, and on the 6th of August of that year he reached Paris. From this time began his close contact with France and the warmth of his reception there, contrasted with the coldness with which he was received in England, cemented that admiration for France which he so cherished ever afterwards.

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[1] G. O. Treveleyan : "The American Revolution," Vol. I Part II, p. 164.

[2] Randall : Vol. I, p. 186.

In France, his own predilections and his intimacy with Lafayette brought him from the outset into the society of the Liberal or patriotic party. These men found in him a kindred spirit. They recognized him as one of themselves, a speculative thinker, a preacher of the extreme doctrine of Political Freedom, or in other words, in the slang of that day, a Philosopher. His house in Paris became the central point and a common rendezvous for French Officers and literati.

The French found that he preceded the French patriots in their current of ideas. He had already acted a high part and enunciated a noble principle where they were only commencing to speculate.

Thus the French saw in him rather a kindred spirit than a disciple of French political thought. The French Officers and Savants consulted him on various occasions.

In his letters written from Paris on January 30, 1787,[1] to James Madison, he expounded some of his political principles. He wrote :—

"There are three forms of Government :

(1) Without government, as Indians.

(2) Under government, wherein the will of every one has a just influence, as in the case of England.

(3) Under a government of force.

In looking into Montesquieu's[2] Spirit of Laws (Bk. III) we find this author expounding the same principles. Here is a startling coincidence, giving the priority to Montesquieu ; in this case Jefferson must have been the borrower. Again in 1782, in his notes on Virginia (VIII, 38-39), he said, "Every government degenerates where trusted to the rules of the people alone." Also in Rousseau's[3] "Social Contract" is to be found a somewhat similar expression (*Social Contract,"-Chap. 10.*) :

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[1] "Writings of Jefferson," Ford Ed., Vol. IV, 1786-1787, pp. 351-362.

[2] Condorcet's "A Commentary and Review of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws," Book III, p. 15.

[3] Rousseau : "Social Contract" : Livre III, Chap. I, p. 299.

> *" Il y a deux voces generales par lesquelles un government degenere : Savior, quand il se resserre, on quand L'Etat se dissont."*
>
> *" Le government se resserre quand il posses du grande nombre au petit. C'est a dire de la democratic a la aristrocraie. eta a l'aristrocratie a la royantie."*

Judging these two utterances and giving priority to Rousseau, Jefferson's saying seems to be a faint echoing of Rousseau's ideas, though Jefferson nowhere mentions Rousseau or his works.

Thus far we find some utterances of Jefferson similar to those of the above French philosophers.

In 1807, in his letter to John Narvell[1] he said, " I think there does not exist a good elementary work on the organization of society into civil government : I mean a work which presents in one full and comprehensive view, the system of principles on which such an organization should be founded according to the rights of Nature. I should recommend Locke 'On Government,' Priestley's 'Essay on the First Principles of Government,' Smith's 'Wealth of Nations, 'Beecaria's 'Crimes and Punishment,' Say's 'Political Economy.' " Nowhere in this list does he mention any French author.

In another letter[2] written May 30, 1790, to I. B. Randolph, Jefferson said : " Locke's little book on government is perfect as far as it goes." Again, to the same man he writes, " In the science of laws, Montesquieu's " Spirit of the Laws" is generally recommended. It contains indeed a great number of political truths but also an equal number of heresies, so that the reader must constantly be on his guard."

In his last letter we find that Jefferson had read some of the French Political writers. But examining the above list it is found that he read more British than French authors.

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[1] Ford Ed., Vol. IX, 1807-15, p. 71.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 171.

As for the stray coincidence of a few of his utterances with those of some of the French Political Philosophers, it can be said that they do not take away Jefferson's claim to originality nor do these coincidences prove his discipleship.

Great thinkers often borrow each other's expressions, but that does not lay them open to the charges of plagiarism, or of lack of originality.

It has been said before that Jefferson was a radical in politics from the beginning of his career. He was a born Democrat. His king-phobia was increased by his cold reception at the English court and by observing with his own eyes the corruption of the European Courts. When he went to France, naturally he sympathized with the French Democrats, as there were affinities of temperament.

Jefferson in his autobiography[1] says that it was France itself that was pupil of the United States in democratic principles. He says, "Celebrated writers of France and England had already sketched good principles on the subject of government. Yet the American Revolution seems first to have awakened the thinking part of the French nation in general from the sleep of despotism in which they were sunk. The Officers came back with new ideas and impressions."

Here Jefferson proves clearly that it was France that was the borrower of the democratic ideas from America, and he himself was one of the men who worked for this Democracy in America. G. Jellinek[2] also gives originality to America. Jefferson says in his autobiography, speaking about the beginning of the French Revolution that in the National Assembly of France the Marquis de La Fayette[3] prepared and proposed a Declaration of Independence. And the Marquis was in constant consultation with Jefferson regarding

[1] Ford, Vol. I, p. 96.

[2] G. Jellinek: "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens," translated by M. Farrand, pp. 80-81.

[3] Ford Ed., Vol. I, p. 133.

politics. In his letter[1] to the Marquis of May 6, 1788, written at Paris, he advises him about his political attitude in that great struggle. Again in his letter of June 3, 1789, to M. de St. Etienne[2] Jefferson says he drew a "proposed charter for France" to be signed by the king. Also in another letter, July 19, 1789, to L'Abbe Arnold, he sends "a list of books on the subject of juries."[3]

Jefferson says he was requested by the chairman of the committee to draw up a constitution in France on July 20, "to attend and assist at their deliberations." His house was a rendezvous of French politicians for settling up difficulties. In his autobiography, he says[4] "Marquis de La Fayette informed me that he should bring a party......when they arrived, they were La Fayette himself, Duport, Barnave, Alexandre La Meth, Blacon, Mounier, Maubourg, and Dagout."

Jefferson concluded his association with the French Revolution by saying[5] "the appeal to the rights of man, which had been made in the United States, was taken up by France, first of the European nations."

His narration of the early phases of the French revolution, and his intimate connection with it clearly show that it was he to whom the French politicians and philosophers came for guidance and new light, and not he to them.

The influence that the French revolution exerted upon him was clearly expressed by Jefferson in "Anas.[6] After his return to the United States, "I had left France in the first year of its revolution, in the fervour for natural rights and zeal for reformation. My conscientious devotion to these rights could not be heightened, but it had been aroused and excited by daily exercise."

As regards Jefferson's connections with the pre-revolutionists, it is seen that he was interested in the Encyclopedia, as shown in his latest letter to James Monroe, written from Paris, June 17, 1785 (July 9) 1786[1] when he sent him this volume. Then in his letter August 25, 1786, to Count Van Hegendorf, he acknowledged he had contributed an article[2] on politica economy to the new Encyclopedia.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 91.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. V, p. 99.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 102.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 145.

[5] *Ibid*, Vol. I, "Jefferson's Autobiography."

[6] Ford, Vol. I, p. 159.

These were all the connections that he had with the Encyclopedists but these letters do not explain much. An acquaintance may be merely an acquaintance and need not mean relationship of master and pupil and *vice versà*.

Also on scanning Rousseau and Montesquieu, not enough material is to be found to prove Jefferson's actual discipleship to those men. And no conclusion can be drawn on the basis of a few stray similar utterances.

Regarding Jefferson's connections with his predecessors, Mr. C. S. Merriam in his article[3] on "The Political Theory of Jefferson" says, "From the classical writings Jefferson apparently derived little inspiration: Aristotle he knew, but thought of little value, and Plato's writings he considered as so much worthless jargon. The chief source from which Jefferson drew his inspiration is commonly supposed to have been the philosophers of the Eighteenth Century Democracy in France. It is often said that his head was turned by French ideas, that he was a 'Rousseauist' and that the speculative Jefferson was really a Frenchman. The extent of the French influence upon Jefferson was, however, really far less than is generally supposed. Montesquieu and Rousseau, who might be presumed to have had a large share in determining his views, seem to have affected him very little." Jefferson himself held Montesquieu in liltle esteem; he says, "I am glad to hear of anything which reduces that author to this just level, as his predilection for monarchy, and for English monarchy in particular, has done mischief everywhere and here also to a certain extent."

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[1] *Ibid*, Vol, IV, p. 251.

Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 284.

C. S. Merriam, Political Science Quarterly, 1902, pp. 26-45, on "The Political Theory of Jefferson."

Mr. Merriam again says[1] "also Rousseau is not discussed or recommended for reading by Jefferson ; nor do the latter's theories show as much resemblance to Rousseau's as to the other French writers. Jefferson recommended Condorcet's "Esquissed d' un Tableau Historique des Propes de l'Esprit Humain" and probably obtained from this source his ideas on human improbability.

The only writer that he cites with enthusiasm is Desttat de Tracy's "Commentar sur Esprit des Lois."

This volume he had translated into English (1811). Indeed, it is unnecessary to go outside of the English theory of politics to find ample precedent upon which Jefferson might draw.

In the English writers of the 18th century are found revolutionary and democratic principles of the most decided character, anticipating not only Jefferson, but in a large measure Rousseau himself.

There seems to be little evidence to prove that Jefferson borrowed anything from others, ; if he did, it is more probable that he borrowed from Locke and other English writers rather than from Rousseau, Montesquieu or Helvetius.

Jefferson followed a line of thought marked out during the English Revolution, following to a certain extent the views of Milton, Sidney, and Locke who also served as models to colonial thinkers before Rousseau had begun to write.

Thus we find the source of Jefferson's thought was more English than French.

No one can deny that the French Revolution made a great impression on him. When two people come together they are sure to attract each other ; this happened in Jefferson's case. The same thing might be said of Charles James Fox who "gloried in the French Revolution." But he would be a bold man who could suppose Fox to have been the creation of any foreign influence.

BHUPENDRANATH DUTT

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[1] C. S. Merriam.

THE HISTORY OF ORISSA AND ITS LESSONS

Orissa as a land of refuge.

The province of Orissa has a peculiar interest for the student of Indian history on account of various reasons. Orissa is a land which is sheltered from the rest of India by a massive block of low hills and deep jungles, and the only approach to it is either by the sea or the rivers or along the narrow strips of low land, which runs parallel to the coast. The land route again is intercepted in many places by river-courses which render the province still more difficult of access. Thus separated from the rest of India and connected with it only through difficult pathways, Orissa has served as an admirable place of refuge for the oppressed throughout the course of Indian history.

It has so happened in the plains of North India that each wave of civilisation has completely wiped away the traces of its predecessors. But in Orissa, those very waves forced their way through a barrier of hills and jungles and of uncultured tribes. Their force was broken, so that when they reached the haven, they were too weak to struggle against each other and existed in the same place side by side. The fact that the former cultures of Northern India are thus preserved in Orissa in a living state has made the place so important to the student of Indian history.

Consequent contact of cultures.

There is a second reason why students of Indian culture are interested in Orissa. North India is cut off from the Deccan by the Vindhya hills and their numerous offshoots in Central India. One of the two routes from one country to the other lies through the Orissan coastal plain, while the other is across the Narmada and the Tapti in Central India. We know that the Deccan was the home of a great and powerful civilisation, *viz.*, that of the Tamils. The influence of the Tamil or Dravidian civilisation extended at one time even to Bengal, and Orissa lay well within its dominion. Orissa like Andhradesa or the Telegu country, has formed a stepping stone between the Aryan civilisation of the North and the Dravidian of the South. As we proceed, we shall try to indicate a number of the currents and cross-currents which flowed between the two.

The civilisation of Orissa is not maritime.

It seems strange that the civilisation of Orissa is connected more with the land than with the sea, although much of Orissa is washed by the sea and there are many great rivers which make their way into it. Not that maritime activity was wanting in the past, but the inhabitants of this country were concerned more with the countries which lay to the north, south and west than with those which lay beyond the sea to the east. Among the thousands of scenes depicted in stone on the temples of Bhubaneswar, Puri and Kanarak, there is not one which may suggest that the sea played any great part in the life of the people. Of boating scenes there are only two or three in Puri and Kanarak, and these boats are far from being seafaring vessels. There is one scene in the temple of Kanarak depicting a group of men presenting a giraffe to the King of Orissa. This solitary picture proves that Orissa was actually in touch with other countries through her ports, but that is far from saying that her culture was maritime in character.

This may seem very strange on account of the fact that Kalinga was famed far and wide as a great maritime power, so much so, that the people of Java called India by the name of Kalinga (actually " Kling ") just as the Persians called India by the name of the province of Sindhu with which they were in touch. The only explanation which seems probable is that Kalinga culture was not the one from which the culture of Orissa was directly derived. The former was probably more Dravidian in origin and its centre lay further south along the coast.

The culture of Orissa was not maritime and it resulted from an integration of a number of separate cultures which met in the country to the north and north-west of ancient Kalinga. Nature has favoured Orissa greatly and things which have disappeared from the rest of India have found a resting place in the hill tracts of this province.

The early inhabitants.

In very early times, Orissa was inhabited by a number of wild tribes. They did not know how to plough the land, and lived entirely on what they could procure from the jungle and by chase. Fruits, berries and roots constituted their principal food. Such men live in the hills of Orissa even now, and some of them are so rude that they do not wear clothes, but only make aprons of leaves.

Their share in the growth of Orissan culture.

Although the early inhabitants of Orissa were so wild, yet they had their own society and were ruled by definite laws framed by their tribal leaders. They also practised a crude form of religion and were guided in such matters by medicine-men. In their worship they marked a piece of stone with vermilion and sacrificed fowl and sheep to the spirits. Sometimes they offered crude earthen images of horses and elephants for the gods to ride. The village-gods of the Hindus of Orissa are still worshipped in this way and it is very likely that this cult was derived from the former aboriginal inhabitants of the land.

Of the many aboriginal tribes who inhabited Orissa in early times, the foremost were the Savaras. They have been in contact with people talking in the Indo-Aryan speech for a very long time, and they have had some share in building up Orissan civilisation. Scholars who study the history of languages say that the language of Orissa owes something to the Savaras. One of the principal religious cults of Orissa was also derived from the same people.

There is a tradition that the worship of Jagannath began with a Savara fowler named Basu. A Hindu King learnt that the God worshipped by Basu was great and powerful and so he sent his priest to learn the secret of His service. That deity has finally come to be worshipped as Jagannath. The descendants of Basu still live in the town of Puri and some duties are assigned to them in the temple of Jagannath. It is very probable that none of the rites with which Basu worshipped his God long ago have survived till now, but the fact that the Savaras supplied the germ out of which the cult of Jagannath grew up is itself of great significance.

Like the Savaras, the Bhuiyas have also played an important part in the history of Orissa. That they were once the rulers of the highlands of Orissa is a well-known fact, and their former rights are still symbolically maintained in a very interesting way. In the state of Keonjhar, the crowning ceremony of the ruling chief has to be performed by Bhuiya clansmen to signify that the present house rules by their permission. In the state of Seraikela, too, the same custom is present, and moreover, the goddess worshipped by the former Bhuiya kings is still worshipped by the ruling chief, the rites being performed by a Bhuiya clansman. Thus the influence of the Bhuiyas is felt in a small way in Orissa and it is quite possible that their influence reached deeper, and some of the social customs of Orissa may owe something to them.

After the Savaras and the Bhuiyas we come to the Odras. In old Sanskrit books, they are mentioned as a wild tribe like the Savaras. But they have now been almost completely hinduised and live by agriculture. Their number is the greatest in the Khurda sub-division of the district of Puri, where they are called Oda Chasas. These Odras gave their name to the land of Orissa, for that name has come from Odra-Visaya, *i. e.*, the district where the Odras live.

Relations with the North through Buddhism.

We thus find that in its early stages Orissan civilisation grew by the accumulation of the tribal cultures of wild tribes like the Savaras, Bhuiyas and the Odras. But already in the time of the Buddha, *i. e.*, in the 6th century B. C., there was trade intercourse between Magadha or Bihar and Orissa. Asoka also conquered Kalinga in the 3rd century B. C. He taught Buddhism to the people and that religion remained predominant in Orissa even as late as the 7th century A. D. At one time the worship of Jagannath fell into the hands of the Buddhists and it was probably then that three idols were substituted in place of one. In some old Oriya songs Jagannath is spoken of as Buddha in disguise, and there are some features in his cult which scholars consider to be survivals from the Buddhist age. The absence of caste-restriction with regard to the rice-offerings of Jagannath is considered to be one of these. Buddhism thus formed a link between Northern India and Orissa, and the influence of the North came into Orissa through trade and religion. Scholars have discovered that the Odras and other dweller of the sea-board tract of Orissa spoke non-Aryan languages about this time, but they rapidly became Aryanised through the influence of the neighbouring provinces of Suhma and Rādha in Bengal.

Relations with the South.

But the influence of the North was far from being alone in shaping Oriya civilisation, for as we have already said the South was not less effective. At one time the dominion of Dravidian civilisation extended to Bengal, and Orissa received many civilised arts of life from the Southerners.

Proofs of contact with the Dravidians have been discovered in the language and the script of Orissa, and also in some of the material arts of life. Perhaps the influence extended deeper and even affected the social and religious life of the people. Some rites in the cult of Jagannath like the dance of the temple-maidens were derived from the South where the employment of temple-maidens is a well known custom. The worship of Uchchista Ganapati, miscalled Bhanda Ganesh, in the temple of Puri, evidently came from the South. In Orissan architecture too, there are indications of a contact with the South, but we know so little regarding these matters that it is not possible at present to form a correct estimate of the debt which Orissa owes to the South.

There is an inscription in the Udaygiri cave in Bhubaneswar written by a king named Kharavela. He is supposed by some scholars to have been a southerner. In the inscription he describes the principal events of his reign, and he says how one year he made an image of an ancestor of his with the wood of a bitter-tree and how he had it carried in state on a car through the town. There are a number of tribes in the south, namely, Badaga, Billava, Karna Sale, Kannadiyan, who carry a corpse upon a processional car before it is committed to the pyre or buried. The same custom is also found among the Chakmas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and also in the Imperial family of Siam. It is curious that the custom of carrying a corpse (or an image of an ancestor in the Kharavela inscription) should extend from Southern India along the eastern coast, then down past Burma into Siam. The fact that it is not found in any other part of the world goes a long way to prove that they were derived from a common source somewhere in or near southern or eastern India. However that may be, our interest in the custom lies in its probable connection with the cult of Jagannath.

It is a well-known fact that the idol of Jagannath can only be made of the bitter *nim* tree (*Melia*), and the most important ceremony connected with that deity is the car-festival. The Kharavela inscription is situated only about 40 miles away from Puri. Would it be stretching imagination too wide to suppose that there was some connection between the two, when we consider the remarkable identity of the materials and of festivals?

The North again.

Long after Asoka and Kharavela, about the 8th or 9th century A. D., a part of western Orissa came under the sway of the Guptas of Kosala. Their inscriptions have been found near about Sambalpur, and the influence of Gupta art has also been discovered in some parts of Mayurbhanj and the neighbouring district of Manbhum. Perhaps southern influence was operating at the same time in the sea-board tract of Ganjam, Puri and Cuttack.

We thus find that the Northerners and the Southerners, and before them the aboriginal tribes, of whom we do not know much, went on building the civilisation of Orissa. The people of this land had not yet succeeded in integrating the chips of civilisation which they received from other countries. A national sentiment had not yet grown, and the Orissans were more like provincials who lay on the border of the great civilisations of the North and the South.

The growth of Orissan individuality and later streams from the North and the South.

It was only in the time of Yayāti Kesari that the foundations of a cultural individuality were first laid. Yayati Kesari was a Hindu and a worshipper of Siva. He made strenuous efforts to establish Hinduism, or rather Brahmanism in Orissa. He is said to have brought ten thousand Brahmins from Kanouj in the United Provinces and they performed a great Vedic Fire-Sacrifice in the newly founded town of Jajpur. From that time onward, Orissa has been a land of Hindus, and the older cult of Buddhism has been gradually swamped out or changed and absorbed into Hinduism. Jagannath was no longer Buddha and He was worshipped as Bhairab or Siva. This state of affairs continued till the fifteenth century, when due to the personality of the great reformer Chaitanya, the people of Orissa were converted to Vaishnavism. Jagannath became a form of Vishnu and the Saiva form of worship was practically given up. Still there are some usages in His cult, which have come down from the periods of Buddhist and Saiva predominance.

As we have already said, the germs of a separate Orissan culture were laid during the reign of the Kesaris. And it was in their time that art and architecture flowered up to an unexampled extent, until finally there came to be a distinctive Orissan School of art. Many of the temples of Bhubaneswar were built in the reign of the Kesaris.

After the Kesaris, the Ganga dynasty came into power. The first Ganga king was a man from the South, but his descendants soon identified themselves with the people of Orissa and they went forth to conquer new lands as the lords of the free state of Orissa.

The Gangas followed the Kesaris in being great builders. The temples of Puri and Kanarak were built in their time, and it was during this period that a very interesting cult reached Orissa from Northern India.

A part of North-Western India was ruled from the 5th century B.C. by the Persians and it was probably at that time that a band of colonists reached India from Persia. They were the Māgis or Māgās, and according to Indian tradition they came from the land of Sakadwip, being driven therefrom by Jarasastra or according to another version being invited by an Indian king named Samba. These Māgās worshipped a peculiar form of the Sun-god named Mithra and they were deeply skilled in astrology. The Māgās first settled in Multan on the Chenab or Chandrabhāgā and Alberuni saw the image of the Sun when he visited that place in the 11th century A. D. The Maga-priests became famous and their influence gradually spread all over the Indo-Gangetic plain. In course of time, Bengal took up the cult of Mithra or Mitra and Orissa soon followed her example. The temple of the Sun-god in Kanarak was built in this period by a King of the Ganga dynasty named Narasinghadeva. But the cult of Mithra soon after fell into disrepute and has now almost completely disappeared from the soil of India. The priests from Sakadwip called Māgās, still exist, but they occupy a very inferior position in the Brahmanical hierarchy.

Conclusion.

We find that the Orissan civilisation resembles other civilisations in being made up of elements derived from many tribes and many lands. The integration, incomplete though it still is, took place in the middle ages, and from that time onward, it has influenced the neighbouring countries through its striking individuality in art and architecture.

NIRMALKUMAR BASU

THE COLOURS OF SKY AND SEA

ADHARCHANDRA MUKHERJI LECTURE.

Of all natural optical phenomena, the blue colour of the sky is the most familiar and conspicuous. The writings of Tyndall have made familiar to the many readers of his fascinating books, the idea that the origin of sky-light is to be ascribed to the scattering of sunlight in the atmosphere and that the blue colour is a consequence of the smallness of the particles concerned in such scattering. Tyndall considered these particles to be composed of extraneous matter such as dust, drops of water or minute crystals of ice suspended in the atmosphere, and this was in fact the view generally held till about twenty years ago. Experience however shows that dust or other suspended particles cannot be the cause of the blue colour of the sky. After the heavy monsoon showers of Bengal have washed down the dust from the atmosphere, our skies are bluer than ever, and are bluest on a bright clear day when clouds of water or ice have all evaporated. We have therefore naturally to seek for some cause more fundamental than suspended matter for the light of the sky. The suggestion was first put forward by the late Lord Rayleigh that skylight represents the result of the scattering of sunlight by the molecules of the air itself. The idea was received very favourably by physicists and has now gained general acceptance.

Making Gases Visible.

Some of the implications of Rayleigh's theory of the blue of the sky are rather startling and it is only recently that it has received experimental confirmation by physicists. If we accept the view that the blue of the sky arises from the gases of the atmosphere, we are forced to give up the familiar idea that the air about us is a colourless, transparent, invisible gas, and must expect to find that under suitable conditions of illumination, the air about us can be made visible and should then exhibit a blue colour. This remarkable conclusion has been tested and indeed found to be true. It is possible to make all the so-called invisible gases and vapours visible by strong illumination, and they then actually exhibit a beautiful sky-blue colour as the result of the light scattered by the molecules. In order to observe this phenomenon and demonstrate its existence in a satisfactory manner, two important points have to be borne in mind. In the first place, it is necessary to purify the gases carefully from suspended dust-particles and other impurities and secondly, to use intense light under such conditions that the illuminated gas is seen against a perfectly dark background.

In carrying out experiments on this subject, the brilliant sunshine we have in India is very helpful, and extensive and systematic studies have been carried on for some years in the writer's laboratory. In order to perceive the brightness of the light scattered by gases and vapours to the fullest advantage, it is desirable for the observer to remain in complete darkness, and the chamber used for the purpose has been appropriately labelled the "Black Hole of Calcutta." After a little rest in total darkness, the eyes of the observer become several thousand times more sensitive than in ordinary daylight, and the track of a beam of sunlight through a column of gas carefully freed from dust appears conspicuously bright and of a beautiful blue colour. From observations of the intensity and character of this light, it is possible visually to recognize the nature and determine the quantity of the gas present.

Determination of Molecular Structure.

The experimental study of the scattering of light by gases, besides confirming the correctness of the Rayleigh theory of the colour of sky, possesses a high degree of intrinsic interest. Not only is it possible from the observations to estimate with fair accuracy the number of molecules in a gas, in other words to carry out a molecular census, but, as has been shown in papers by the author and by Dr. K. R. Ramanathan, it is possible to obtain a very fair idea of the dimensions of the molecule and of the arrangements of the atoms forming it. The latter possibility depends on the fact that molecules composed of two or more atoms obviously cannot, in general, be equivalent to a simple spherical scattering particle. With certain simplifying suppositions, it is possible to calculate theoretically the optical behaviour to be expected from a molecule having any specified structure and to compare it with observation. The two features in the scattering of light which vary with the nature of the gas are, firstly, its intensity, and secondly, its state of polarisation, that is the character of the vibration in the scattered light-waves. The second feature is specially sensitive to the structure of the molecule and indicates in an unmistakable way any departure of the optical behaviour of the molecule from perfect spherical symmetry. The observations indicate striking relationships between the chemical structure of the molecule and the manner in which it scatters light.

The Colours of Twilight.

The theory of Rayleigh explains not only the blue colour of the sky but also the beautiful glows of sunrise and sunset. In some experiments made by the present writer the varying colours of sky and setting sun are strikingly reproduced in the laboratory. When the sun is on the horizon, its rays have to traverse long columns of the atmosphere and suffer much attenuation in the process. The molecules of the air, being exceedingly small in size, scatter by preference the shortest waves forming the blue-violet end of the solar spectrum.

Hence the sunlight that has passed through the lower levels of the atmosphere is denuded of the blue rays and the change of colour of the sun to yellow or orange as it sinks near the horizon receives a natural explanation.

Twilight phenomena are often complicated by the dust, water-vapours or clouds present in the atmosphere. But such disturbing factors are eliminated when observations are made on a bright clear evening from a high mountain. Dr. K. R. Ramanathan has recently made some very interesting observations on twilight phenomena during the winter months at Simla, and it seems fairly clear that the effects noticed by him can be explained as consequences of the molecular scattering of light. Perhaps the most striking demonstration of the part played by the atmosphere in twilight phenomena is the fact that the dark-blue shadow of the earth fringed by a purple glow can actually be seen above the eastern horizon creeping upwards as the sun goes down in the west.

It may also be mentioned that observations made by the writer on a clear day from Mount Dodabetta in the Nilgiris have furnished valuable confirmation on a large scale of those effects depending on the structure of the molecules which were first revealed by experiments on the scattering of light made in the laboratory.

The Blue of the Sea.

Another natural optical phenomenon of great interest is the blue colour of the waters of the deep sea. To the unsophisticated traveller on his first ocean voyage, it appears remarkable in the highest degree to find that the same water which in the bath-tub appears quite transparent with the faintest tinge of green appears from the deck of the steamer to be of a dark-blue or indigo colour. The explanation usually suggested for the blue colour of the sea is that it consists of reflected skylight, and in support of this, it is often urged that when the sky is completely overcast, the sea appears of a leaden-gray colour. That this view is erroneous is shown by the fact that the blue of the sea is a much deeper and darker colour than even the light of the zenith sky; the change of colour of the sea when the sky is overcast is obviously due to the fact that the clouds cut off the sun-light which ordinarily illuminates the water. Another view which is sometimes suggested as an explanation of the blue colour of the sea is that it is merely the natural colour of the water. That this view is not correct becomes clear when we recollect that the observer on the deck of the steamer is between the sun which is the source of light and the water, and hence the sun's rays which pass through the water cannot reach him directly. Unless therefore we postulate suspended matter in the water, there is nothing according to this theory to reflect the colour of the water into the observer's eyes. Further, the colour of water observed in transmission is a greenish-blue and not a dark-blue or indigo; the waters which show the blue colour best are those which are clearest and most transparent and hence presumably freest from suspended matter.

On the basis of the observations made by him during his ocean voyages and of laboratory experiments, the present writer has put forward a new theory of the colour of the sea. Examination of samples of transparent deep-sea water shows that they are free from suspended impurity to a remarkable extent, and that when a beam of sunlight passes through such water, its track in the liquid exhibits a blue colour of a brightness and hue not greatly different from that found in similar experiments with laboratory samples of dust-free water. The observations lead us to the view that the blue colour of deep sea water arises from the scattering of light by the molecules of the water, in much the same way as the molecules of the air are responsible for the blue light of the sky. There are however certain fundamental differences between the scattering of light by a gas and the scattering of light by a liquid which will be more fully discussed in the second lecture.

Why is the Sea bluer than the Sky ?

If the colours of the sea and sky are both due to the molecular scattering of light, why then is the colour of the sea so much fuller and more saturated than the colour of the sky ? The explanation of this is, as has been shown by the writer in his paper on the subject, that the effects in the sea are modified by the absorption of light by the water. It is well-known that even perfectly pure distilled water in long columns cuts out a considerable fraction of the red and yellow regions of the solar spectrum. Both when the sun's rays enter the water and also when the scattered light transverses it before emerging from the sea this absorption comes into play and practically cuts out the whole of the red end of the spectrum. The fullness of the hue of the light emerging from the water is thus satisfactorily explained.

One of the questions often asked regarding the colour of the sea is, why does it show such marked variations in intensity and hue ? Three disturbing factors are present in the sea in greater or less degree which can exercise an influence on the observed optical phenomena. In the first place, it is not correct to assume that even the clearest and more transparent ocean water scatters light in exactly the same way as dust-free water in the laboratory. Some suspended matter must always be present which scatters light differing in colour from the pure sky-blue characteristic of molecular scattering. The influence of suspended matter would also make itself felt by a diminution of the transparency and consequently also of the effective depth of the water contributing to the observed luminosity. Then again, the question cannot altogether be ignored of the influence of dissolved matter present in the sea-water. Laboratory experiments indicate that the small percentage of salt present in sea-water contributes very little to its light-scattering power. The dissolved matter, may however, in certain cases make itself felt if it causes a diminution in the transparency of the water. Another and extremely interesting complication is that first discovered by Dr. K. R. Ramanathan in the sea-water from certain areas in the Bay of Bengal which showed a striking green colour. He found that such water exhibits a feeble green fluorescence, presumably in consequence of some organic substance present in it, and that this fluorescence is accompanied by a sensible absorption in the blue-violet portion of the spectrum.

Colour of the Mediterranean

A fascinating problem which cannot yet be regarded as fully solved and to which the foregoing paragraphs only form an introduction is the reason for the remarkable brilliance of the colour shown by the Mediterranean. Allied to it are such questions as the cause of the difference in colour between the Gulf stream and the colder waters of the Atlantic adjacent to it. An examination of an oceanographic map of the Mediterranean shows a striking correlation between the colour of the water and its transparency. Such a correlation probably exists also in other similar cases and encourages the belief that the explanations of the differences in colour suggested in the preceding paragraphs are probably on the right lines. In particular, the marked differences in colour between the deep-sea and of water in the vicinity of land are evidently to be explained in terms of the suspended and other impurities present in the latter case. The variation of the colour of deep-sea water in different areas and at different times offers however problems of great interest which still await a complete solution.[1]

C. V. RAMAN

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[1] Adharchandra Mukherji Lecture.

FAITH IN BUDDHISM

Analysis and Ideal of Śraddhā

Saddhā, Saddhindriya and Saddhābala are the Pāli words signifying faith. These are not exactly synonyms. They slightly differ in their connotation. The kind of specification implies a logical division, which is not rigid but flexible enough to allow one species of faith to pass imperceptibly into another which is higher. These so-called species are no more than so many "aspects and phases" which, when viewed psychologically, admit only of a difference of degree, and not of kind. Faith in its specific sense, *i.e.*, as distinguished from the Faculty and the Power, denotes only a kind of blind or professed faith as distinguished from a realised one.

The all-important discrimination of the three species could not be achieved until the 4th or 3rd century B.C. when a Buddhist School, the Hetuvādin, pressed home a clear-cut distinction: 'The average man of the world possesses Faith, but not Faith as a Faculty.' In the same vein the Hetuvādin sought to maintain that knowledge was not within the reach of the average man. He conceded so far that the uninstructed might possess practical wisdom but not knowledge in its higher technical sense. By knowledge the Hetuvādin meant the philosophic insight which consists in "analytic discernment, analytic understanding, ability to investigate or examine, the faculty of research, etc." Similarly they conceded to the Orthodox claim that the average man is "capable of liberality... and so forth," but they definitely stated that he is incapable of faith as a Faculty, and far more so of faith as a Power, for these higher forms of faith are impossible without the understanding of the truth. In the case of the untutored, faith does not come from knowledge but originates from hearsay or tradition. That is to say, the faith of the average man is not what the Buddha himself termed "the reasoned or rational faith" (paññānvayā saddhā).[1] Thus the Hetuvādin effected a significant distinction between the ordinary and philosophic faith.

We read in the Netti : "The absence of impurity is the mark of assurance and tranquillity or satisfaction is its consummation. Solicitation is the mark of faith, and unflinching devotion its basis. Steadiness is the mark of assurance, and faith its basis."[2]

In Milindapañha, faith is characterised by these two marks : (1) *Sampasādana* tranquillizing in the sense of making the hindrances subside, and rendering consciousness clear, serene and untroubled, and (2) *Sampakkhaudhana,* jumping in the sense of aspiring to attain that which has not been attained, to master that which has not been mastered.

The Abhidhamma definition of faith assumes a popular character when it is restated in terms of Buddhaghoṣa's commentary : "Faith is a trusting and taking refuge in the Buddha and other Jewels—the Doctrine and the Order. It is an act of believing in the sense of plunging, breaking, entering into qualities of the Buddha and the rest, and rejoicing over them."[3] Faith is the guiding principle in all acts of charity, morality and religion in the sense that it precedes all charitable, moral and spiritual instincts and dispositions."[4] Buddhaghoṣa refers elsewhere to faith (saddhā) as transforming itself or deepening into devotion (bhatti) by repeated religious practices. Love (pema) is invariably associated with faith. The other element which accompanies it is *pasāda,* a sense of assurance, attended by serene joy arising out of satisfaction of a man's spiritual need.[1]

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[1] The expression has been quoted in the Atthasālinī, p. 69.

[2] *Netti*, p. 28 : "*Okappanalakkhaṇā saddhā, adhimuttipaccupaṭṭhānā ca. Anāvilalakkhaṇo pasādo, sampasīdanapaccupaṭṭhāno ca. Abhipatthiyanalakkhaṇā saddhā, tassa aveccappasādo padaṭṭhāno.*

[3] *Ibid*. p. 145 ; Buddhâdīni va ratanāni saddahati pattiyāyatî ti saddhā...Buddhâdīnaṃ guṇe ogāhati bhinditvā viya anupavesati...pasīdanti.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 120, saddhā pubbaṅgamā purecārikā hoti.

Buddhaghoṣa's division of faith into four classes is a novel feature in later Buddhism :

(1) Āgamanīya-saddhā—the epoch-making faith of a Bodhisatta who is destined to become a supreme Buddha.

(2) Adhigamasaddhā, the philosophic conviction, gained by the Ariyapuggalas.

(3) Pasādasaddhā, the unwavering faith (aveccappasādā) of a stream-attainer in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Order.

(4) Okappanasaddhā, outward or seeming faith which makes a man keep up appearance, but does not touch his heart.

Faith and Doubt are two opposite states of mind so that the presence of one implies the absence of the other : "If a person entertains doubt, is perplexed about the Teacher and the rest, he does not attain *mukti* by reassuring faith, and his mind does not bend towards earnestness, application, perseverence and energy—this is the first bolt of the heart in his case."[2] 'The sceptic is the common enemy of the divines and the graver philosophers.'

Like faith, doubt admits of various stages of growth. To resist an overpowering doubt we require an unwavering faith. The Arahant is equipped with faith and other faculties and powers in a greater degree than the Buddhist Aryans who occupy the lower ranks ; the Sotāpanna or Stream-attainer who fills the lowest rank among the Aryans can claim a higher order of faith and the rest than a Kalyāṇa Puthujjana or Good Average-man who is undergoing training, preliminary to the Aryan stage ; and such a good average-man is entitled to a higher position than the ordinary man of the world. Among ordinary men, too, there are some who cherish high ambition, and others who do not. Thus we have (1) the faith of the ordinary man of the world ; (2) the faith of an inquirer before he receives instructions ; (3) the faith of an inquirer who is undergoing preliminary courses of training ; (4) the faith of the Sotāpanna or stream-attainer ; (5) the faith of the Aryans who have not as yet reached the goal ; (6) the faith of an Arhant who has realised Nirvāṇa.

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[1] *Puggala-Paññatti-commentary*, p. 248 : "punappunaṃ bhajanavasena saddhā va bhatti. Pemaṃ saddhāpemaṃ gehasita-pemampi vattati. Pasādo saddhāpasādo va."

[2] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, p. 101.

Doubt or Scepticism is broadly divided into three classes, *viz.* :—(1) Doubt as a first Obstacle (Vicikicchā-Nīvaraṇa), (2) Doubt as a Fetter (Vicikicchā-Saṃyojana), and (3) Doubt as a Fetter inherent in lower nature (Orambhāgīya-Saṃyojana). This division of doubt runs parallel to that of *Saddhā* into Faith, the Faculty and the Power. It is, therefore, conceivable that doubt is capable of as elaborate a classification as faith.

The common name for religious doubt is *Cetokhila* (The bolt of the heart), and philosophic doubt is in some way allied to *Avijjā* (Ignorance or Agnosticism). There are five *Cetokhilas*, the bolts which steel the heart against all tender feelings and higher aspirations, *viz.*, entertaining doubt, getting perplexed about the Teacher, the Doctrine, the Order, the Training (Sikkhā), and the want of fellow-feeling.[1] The first four bolts represent together what is termed above religious doubt :

> "(1) as to whether or not the Teacher has the 32 major bodily marks, or the 80 minor bodily marks of a Buddha, or the requisite omniscience with respect to things past, future and present ; (2) as to the adequacy of the paths and their fruits to lead indeed to the ground ambrosial Nirvāna ; (3) as to whether those of the Order are indeed at various stages of the path to salvation, or have rightly won their way so far ; (4) as to whether the Training is helpful." [2]

Doubt as a Hindrance is a state of mind to be put away by religious belief and discursive thought, the Doubt as a Fetter by faith unwavering and insight philosophic. The *Cetokhila* and

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[1] *Saṅgīti-Suttanta* (Dīgha, III) *sub voce* Cetokhila ; Majjhima-Nikāya, I., Cetokhila-Sutta, p. 101.

[2] *Atthasālinī*, pp. 354-55. *Manual of Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, p. 260, f. n. 2.

Avijjā represent two sides of doubt; religious and philosophic. On its religious side, it can be put away by faith professed or realised, and on its philosophic side, by judgment and insight. Thus the Buddhist division of doubt shows a resemblance to Hume's division into two species, *viz.*, "Scepticism antecedent to all study and philosophy," and "Scepticism consequent to science and enquiry." The former is broadly represented by the Buddhist Hindrance, and the latter by the Fetter. So far as the Hindrance is concerned, doubt before instruction and enquiry can be removed by faith, of which the characteristic mark is aspiration, and doubt at the inception of the career of a reflective student by discursive thought. Sāriputta, the chief disciple of the Buddha, held that it is within the power of a stream-attainer[1] to shake off all kinds of doubt excepting those which are deep-rooted in our lower nature and removable by introspection.

It is stated that the four conditions of Sotāpatti on the side of feeling are unwavering faith in the Teacher, the Doctrine, the Order, and the Training, that is, the four opposite states of the four bolts of the heart. The four conditions on the intellectual side refer to association with the wise, hearing of the good doctrine (study in the wider sense), reflective reasoning, and systematic knowledge of things.[2] Thus it can be proved that the Buddhist Sotāpanna is a religious philosopher whose duty it is to confirm the faith and understand the truth.

The Fetter with which the Sotāpanna is confronted is a philosophic doubt or scepticism proper with regard to the beginning and the end of things, or to use the words of Naciketa in the Kaṭhôpaniṣad (1. 1. 20), a doubt as to whether a person continues to exist or not after death.[3] But the doubt which the Buddhist philosopher has to overcome is bound up with the question "as to whether there is a twelve-graded cycle of causation taking effect here and now, or taking effect at all,"[1] or as to whether, in the language of the Buddha, causality (dhammatā, idapaccayatā) is objectively and universally valid.[2]

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[1] *Saṅgīti-Suttanta* (Dīgha-nikāya III), *sub voce* Sotāpattyaṅgāni.

[2] *Sotāpattyaṅgāni* enumerated in the Saṅgīti-Suttanta, Dīgha-Nikâya, III, include Satthari, Dhamme, Saṃghe, Sikkhāya aveccappasādo; sappurisasaṃsevo, saddhamma-savaṇaṃ, yonisomanasikāro, dhammânudhammapaṭipatti.

[3] Yeyaṃ prête vicikitsā manuṣye, astîti eke nâstîti caike.

Thus the faith of a Sotāpanna is intended to put away doubt regarding the five points denoted by the Teacher, the Doctrine, the Order, the Discipline, and Natural Causation. So we read in Aśvaghoṣa's "Awakening of Faith," a work which belongs to the same period as "The Questions of King Milinda :—"

> "There are four aspects of faith............(1) To believe in the fundamental truth, *i.e.*, to think joyfully of Suchness (Bhūtatathatā)............ (2) To believe in the Buddha as sufficiently enveloping infinite merits, *e.g.*, to rejoice in worshipping him, in paying homage to him, in making offerings to him, in hearing the good doctrine (*saddharma*), in disciplining oneself according to the doctrine, and in aspiring after Omniscience (*sarvajñāna*). (3) To believe in the Dharma as having great benefits, *i.e.*, to rejoice always in practising all Pāramitās. (4) To believe in the Saṃgha as observing true morality *i.e.*, to be ready to make offerings to the congregation of Bodhisattvas, and to practise truthfully all those deeds which are beneficial at once to oneself and to others."

Faith is the guiding factor which precedes all charitable, moral, religious and spiritual functions,[3] the basic principle of all virtuous deeds (*puññakiriyavatthūni*), sanctioned by religion. The magnanimity of heart makes itself felt when something is given in faith.[4] These statements are made by the Buddhist commentator Buddhaghoṣa in a manner far more precise and definite than the crude fashion in which Yājñavalkya expressed the same thought, itself an improvement on the popular notion of faith in the Ṛg-veda : "Sacrifice is based on charity, charity on faith, faith on heart. Faith is conceived by heart, faith is established indeed in heart."[1] Moreover, the manner in which Buddhadatta and his younger contemporary Buddhaghoṣa applied the older psychological analysis of mind for the purpose of discriminating the virtuous deeds sanctioned by religion[2] conclusively proves that such a critical faculty was unknown to the ancients. For instance, charity which is one of the ten virtuous deeds is defined by the Buddhist thinkers as an "excogitation or conscious yearning of the heart coming into play since the gifts are produced, before these are made over, and subsequently when the donor recollects these with a mind gladdened with joy."[3]

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[1] Atthasālinī. p. 355, dvādasapadakaṃ paccayavattaṃ atthi nu kho natthîti kaṅkhā.

[2] Saṃyutta-Nikāya, II. 25. Tathatā, Avitathatā.

[3] Atthasālinī, p. 120.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 162 : Suddahitvā okappetvā dadāti cetanāmahattaṃ nāma hoti.

As to the close affinity between Jainism and Buddhism let one instance suffice. The Jainas enumerate these nine obstacles to faith (daṃsaṇâvaraṇiya) :—Sleep, dozing, half sleepy state, deep sleep, deep-rooted greed, obstacles concerning faith in the objects of the four kinds of knowledge.[4] The five hindrances to faith as enumerated by the Buddhists include sensual desires, hatred, sloth and torpor, worry and flurry, and doubt to which may be added ignorance.[5] Of these torpor (middha), as appears from its definition in the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka, covers the first four obstacles, mentioned by the Jainas.[6]

"Faith is perfected," says Aśvaghoṣa, "by practising the following five deeds : Charity (dāna), morality (śīla), patience (kṣānti), energy (vīryya), cessation (or tranquillisation, śamatha) and intellectual insight (vidarśana, vipassanā).[1] This pronouncement of Aśvaghoṣa reminds us of the word of the Buddha, quoted in the Milinda :—

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[1] Bṛhad Ār. Up., III. 9. 21.

[2] Abhidhammâvatāra, pp. 2-4 ; Atthasālini, pp. 157-162. Saddhā is conceived as a *cetanā*.

[3] Atthasālinī, p. 157 ; dānavatthūsu taṃ taṃ dentassa tesaṃ uppādanato paṭṭhāya pubbabhāge pariccāgakāle pacchā somanassacittena anussaraṇa-kāle câti tīsu kālesu pavattā cetanā dānamayaṃ puññakiriyavatthu nāma.

[4] Uttarâdhyayana, XXXIII. 2.

[5] Kāmacchanda, vyāpāda, thinamiddha, uddhaccakukkucca, vicikicchā, (avijjā).

[6] Uttarādhyayana, XXXIII. 2 : nidrā, pracala, nidrânidrā, pracalâpracala. Cf. Vibhaṅga, p. 254, Middhaṃ soppaṃ pacalāyika soppaṃ supanā supitattaṃ : Atthasālinī, p. 378 : "Supanti tenâti soppaṃ. Akkhidalâdīnaṃ pacalabhāvaṃ karotîti pacalāyika." The Jaina commentator explains pracala as "the slumber of a standing or sitting person."

> "By faith he crosses over the stream,
> By earnestness the sea of life;
> By steadfastness all grief he stills,
> By wisdom is he purified." [2]

It is clear from this oft-quoted verse that *mukti* in its negative and positive aspects is attainable by faith, although human perfection requires the proper cultivation of other faculties and powers. Buddha has declared elsewhere that faith is the first principle to which penance, wisdom and the rest are subordinate. "Faith is the seed, penance the rein, wisdom yoke and plough, consciousness the pole, mind the tie, mindfulness the plough-share and goad—such is the tilth that I till, the tilth of which the fruit is immortal life, the tilth by which one gets rid of all kinds of suffering."[3]

The Arhant is indeed a person who has fully developed or cultivated these five moral or spiritual faculties: faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration and reason.[4] Those who fill the lower and lower ranks are persons who cultivate these in a weaker and weaker form. Those who are completely devoid of these five essential moral or spiritual faculties are placed outside the category of Aryans, and they are said to belong to the ranks of average men.[5]

It is clear from this that, according to Buddha Gotama, the higher is the plane of cognition, the finer is the type of religion;

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[1] Suzuki.—"The Awakening of Faith," p. 128.

[2] Sutta-Nipāta, Āḷavakasutta, v. 4.
"Saddhaya tarati oghaṃ appamādena aṇṇavaṃ,
Vīriyena dukkham acceti, paññāya pārisujjhati."

[3] *Ibid*, Kāsibharadvāja-Sutta, vv, 2-5.

[4] Saddhindriyaṃ. vīriyindriyaṃ, satindriyaṃ, samādhindriyaṃ, paññindriyaṃ.

[5] Saṃyutta-Nikāya, V, p. 202 : Imesaṃ kho bhikkhave pañcannaṃ indriyānaṃ samattā paripurattā Arahā hoti. Yassa kho bhikkhave imāni pañcindriyāni sabbena sabbaṃ sabbattha sabbaṃ n'atthi, tam ahaṃ "bāhiro puthujjapakkhe ṭhito" ti vadāmi.

the deeper are the convictions, the stronger are the expressions of faith. There are, in other words, the degrees of faith corresponding to the degrees of knowledge. Reason or Wisdom determines the quality of faith (paññanvayā saddhā).[1] The relative position of faith and knowledge in the wider sense can be inferred from the accepted Buddhist classification of Arhants into two orders: (1) Sukkhavipassaka, the subtle seer, (2) Samathayānika, the mystic "who makes quietude his mode." This shows that among the Buddhist saints all were not gifted with higher perception, *i.e.*, not philosophers. There is another classification by which the Arhants are divided into three orders, *viz.*, (1) Kāyasakkhi, the intuitionist; (2) Diṭṭhippatta, the Intellectualist; (3) Saddhāvimutta, the Rationalist. Saviṭṭha considered the devout mystic as the best of all, Sāriputta preferred the Intellectualist, and Mahākoṭṭhita preferred the Intuitionist. When the matter was referred to the Buddha for a final decision, he regretted his inability to make any dogmatic assertion,[2] for any one of the three classes might appear to be superior to others according to circumstances. Although in this particular passage of the Aṅguttara-Nikāya (III. 21) the Buddha refrained from delivering a definite judgment on the question at issue, there are other passages[3] to indicate his real position. There he enumerates seven classes of Arhants according to the highest place to the Ubhayabhāgavimutta, one who attains freedom by means of concentration and reason. The second place in his opinion is occupied by the Paññāvimutta, one who attains *mukti* by means of reason. Below him stands the Kāyasakkhi, the intuitionist who aspires to envisage the real as a single whole.[4] To an intuitionist analytical functions of the understanding are ultimately futile.

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[1] Quoted in the Atthasālinī, p. 69.

[2] Na sukaraṃ ekaṃsena vyākātuṃ.

[3] Majjhima-Nikāya, I. 478 f. n., Aṅguttara-Nikāya. III. 21, Puggala-Paññatti, III. 3.

[4] Majjhima-Nikāya, I. 292, Mahākoṭṭhita who was an Intuitionist forces Sāriputta to admit that the real is an indivisible whole.

The Intellectualist (Ditthippatta) standing fourth in order of merit is a learned man who has ability to grasp and explain the philosophy of the Buddha.

The Rationalist (Saddhāvimutta) who occupies the fifth place is a strong believer *plus* one who fairly understands the import of Buddha's system. Next comes Dhammânusāri, the good man who develops the five faculties by faithfully carrying out the moral principles of the Teacher. In the lowest rank is placed the Saddhânusāri who develops the five faculties, essential to *mukti*, by way of blind faith, in and through the love of the Buddha.[1] Here the Buddha adds a word of explanation. In the case of the first two classes, there is no further need of earnestness, for it is impossible for them to be careless. The remaining classes are nevertheless recognised in his system, because all cannot attend to a complete course of training.

The complete course of training[2] is to be gone through only by an earnest seeker of truth, who, full of faith, approaches a teacher with whom he associates himself. Thus with rapt attention he hears the doctrine which he remembers, examines, and understands, whereby he begins to feel love for the subject, and finally he realises the highest truth by his own efforts and acquires deep insight by his wisdom.[3]

The character of the early Buddhist faith is set forth in the last utterance of the Buddha to his disiples, which is as follows :—"*Handa dāni bhikkhave, āmantayāmi vo; vayadhammā saṅkhārā, appamādena sampādetha.*" "Now I charge you, Bhikkhus: All composites are subject to decay, be earnest in your duties." And this *appamāda* or earnestness is the one word by which the Master summed up his whole life, nay, this is the expression whereby he summed up his whole teaching : "Regarded as a subjective element, O Bhikkhus, I do not find," he said, "any other element which conduces to the greatest good than earnestness (appamāda) ; nor do I find any other element than earnestness, which conduces to the stability of the faith and preserves it from getting preverted and from disappearing." [1] It is well said in the Milinda which is a classical Pāli composition dated about the 1st century A. D., that energy (*vīriya*, which is the positive nomenclature for *appamāda*) is the mainstay of all good qualities, illustrated by the following similes :—

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[1] Majjhima-Nikāya, I, p. 479 : "Tathāgate c'assa saddhāmattaṃ hoti pemamattaṃ."

[2] Anupubbasikkhā, anupubbakiriyā, anupubbapaṭipadā.

[3] Majjhima-Nikāya, I, p. 480 : Aṅguttara, ii. 5, 6

(1) Just as a man, if a house were falling down, would make a prop for it of another post, and the house so supported would not fall down, just so is the rendering of support the mark of energy ;

(2) Just as when a large army has broken up a small one then the king of the latter would call to mind every possible ally and reinforce his small army, and by that means the small army might in its turn break up the large one ; just so is the rendering of support the mark of energy, and all the good qualities which it supports do not fall away.[2]

In support of this interpretation of energy, the Milinda cites the following words of the Teacher from an unknown source : "The energetic hearer of the Noble Truth, O Bhikkhus, puts away evil and cultivates goodness, puts away that which is wrong and develops in himself that which is right and thus does he keep himself pure." The earnestness or energy here contemplated with which he held fast to meditation under the Bodhi-tree, is the determination so well expressed in many later poetical works, the determination not to deviate from the path of duty, even if the heavens be rent asunder or the earth's stability be disturbed (nabhaṃ phaleyya, paṭhaviṃ caleyya).

When a man steps into a Buddhist sanctuary, I shall not be surprised, if he will meet a votary or superstitious worshipper taking refuge in the Triad by repeating the set formula

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[1] Aṅguttara, I, pp. 16-17.

[2] Milinda, p. 57.

"I take refuge in the Buddha, I take refuge in the Dhamma, I take refuge in the Saṅgha, once, twice and thrice." But whatever the interpretation of these commonly accepted formula, to me the servile expression "I take refuge" seems utterly incompatible with the heroic spirit which the Buddha sought to impart to all that he said and to all that he did. It calls up a train of cowardly associations which befit only a degenerated age. This is not the way in which a Buddhist who is to appear as a conqueror was called upon by the Master to profess his faith. The proper way to express one's faith is to say and feel: "The Blessed One is the Teacher, I am his disciple. The Blessed One knows and I do not. Let my skin, nerves and bones dry up, let my body of flesh and blood perish away, until my end is attained—the end which is attainable by manly strength, manly energy, manly effort, I will not cease to strive."[1]

If it be admitted, then, that the Buddha made earnestness or energy the sustaining principle of his system, the question arises how it is possible for a person to pursue his aim with the heroic determination to do or die. The reply is—only when he is conscious that he himself is the builder of his moral self (attā hi attano nātho) and that there is no other (ko hi nātho paro siyā). As a matter of fact, this is the older conception of faith (śraddhā) which can be traced back to the Vedic hymns. At the closing period of the Ṛg-Veda, faith came to be regarded as a yearning of the heart (hṛdayāya ākūti[2]), or insatiable thirst for the highest achievement of life. This thirst, as expressed in an oft-quoted *stotra* of the subsequent age, is to be led from the unreal to the real, from darkness to light and from death to immortality. Indeed the belief that a man is what he desires to be (kratumaya puruṣa)[3] is admitted in different ways as the cardinal principle of religion in the age of the older Upaniṣads. The principle is illustrated in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad by the life-practice of Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, who is said to have

[1] Majjhima, I, pp. 480-1.

[2] Ṛg-Veda, X. 151.

[3] Chāndogya, III. 14.

become after death what he desired to be in this life.[1] With the growth of moral self-consciousness the principle came to be more emphatically expressed in these words: "Whatever ends a person desires to attain, and whatever desires a person entertains, whether the attainment of the world of fathers, or of mothers, or of brothers, or of sisters, or of friends, or of wives, or of music, and so forth, these come to be from the very act of his willing it; and thus endowed with it he is glorified."[2] In a somewhat later analysis a moral condition is consciously added, *viz.*, that a person aiming at something noble must be pure in heart (viśuddhâtmā).[3]

Yājñavalkya came to formulate his theory of karma on the basis of this fundamental conception of Aryan faith: "A man is what he believes himself to be; as he desires so he acts; as he acts so he attains," and this is the doctrine of karma which was developed in the hands of the Buddha into a full-fledged system of religious ethics. This is in a sense the main point in regard to which he came to fulfil and not to destroy the supreme task which his Aryan predecessors left to him to carry out on an extensive scale. True to this religious instinct of India, the Buddha proclaimed in the lion's roar: "Herein a Bhikkhu is endowed with faith, equipped with morality, replete with learning, enriched with generosity, vested with wisdom, and the thought occurs to him 'Oh! that it were possible for me to be so reborn as to attain the status of powerful warriors or any higher condition of existence, on the dissolution of the body, after death.' It burns his heart, it occupies his thought, it makes his mind ponder over. Such a disposition of his and pondering over things, developed and accentuated in this manner, paves the way for the attainment of his end. This is the road, this the path, that leads to his goal."

B. M. BARUA

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[1] Chāndogya, III. 17. 6. [2] *Ibid*, VII. 2-1-10. [3] Majjhima, III, pp. 99

PANINI'S "PARTS OF SPEECH"

All our grammars written under European influence, whether of English, or of the Vernaculars, or of Sanskrit or Persian or Arabic, inform us that there are in every language eight "parts of speech." We know them all, nouns, pronouns, etc. For the beginner in grammatical studies it is sufficient to have this classification and their definitions, embodied in the school-boy doggerel:

"Noun is the name of anything.
"As: *school* or *garden, hoop* or *swing*" etc., etc.

This classification leads to a certain amount of clearness in the mind of the young boy and girl beginning to grasp the inwardness of language and learning to analyse it. But what is sufficient for the intellect of a child can surely not be regarded as either scientific or as enough for grown-up students.

And above all it does seem strange to me that we in India have accepted and adopted without question this eight-fold classification imported from the west, although we have had a much more satisfactory and scientific classification given to us by Pāṇini, the greatest grammarian the world has ever known. No doubt the western classification has its advantages, for it has had the sanction of having been used in Europe ever since the days of the Romans and has had its origin in the categories of Aristotle. There is a certain amount of ease and apparent simplicity about it, as we all very well know, but in this very simplicity lie hidden snares to catch the unthinking. Let us try to remember the agonies we suffered at school when we were asked to parse the two *the*'s in the phrase, *the more the merrier*. Modern grammars are distinctly better arranged and are more scientific than were those I learnt a generation ago, but still there is a lot to be done.

As stated above the eightfold classification of the West owes its birth to the greatest philosopher of Greece, Aristotle. But he looked at language as merely a vehicle of, and consequently as subservient to, thought. His main topic was the process of human thought and he divided the sumtotal of "the objects of experience" into various categories. And just because thought and language are so intimately connected together the same term came naturally to designate a particular aspect in the process of reasoning and the *word* which expresses the idea. We need not blame Aristotle for this confusion; it was the early European compilers of grammar who misapplied the terms of Aristotelian Logic to the categories of Grammar. The reason for this confusion on the part of these early compilers is to be sought in the fact that neither Greece nor Rome ever produced a *grammarian*. The Greeks had always held, and rightly, that a man had no need to learn the grammar of his own mother-tongue. They did study rhetoric, *i.e.*, the art of clearly expressing their thoughts and of effectively moving their hearers and readers; but they never tried to teach the structure of any language—neither of their own because they held that a man learns his own language intuitively (which is indeed the best method), nor of any foreign language, because they were too proud to learn the unmeaning jargon of barbarians. In fact no grammar of Greek was ever compiled until after the Romans had conquered the country and there arose the demand among the Romans to learn the language and literature and philosophy of Greece. So the first grammars of Greek were strictly practical manuals to teach the Romans and as such they were mere compilations of the facts of the language without any attempt at scientific analysis. The facts, however, had to be marshalled in some sort of order, and for this, naturally, the compilers looked to Aristotle and to his "categories." This mixing up of Logic and Grammar has continued in all grammars written by Europeans or under European influence right up to the present day. And though this mixing up was, as we have seen, quite natural and inevitable under the circumstances, it acquired a sanctity in later ages which made it impossible to be replaced by any other system. This classification—based upon Laws of Thought—is correct as far as it goes; but it has two grave defects: (*i*) the categories are overlapping and hence very often lead to confusion and (*ii*) this sort of classification is not *grammatical*, inasmuch as it does not emphasise the structure and the type of the language *quâ* language.

In India, too, we notice a similar tendency to mix up Logic and Grammar. The first three "categories" of the Vaiśeṣika system—*dravya*, *guṇa* and *karma*—can by a very easy and natural step be made into the three grammatical categories, *noun*, *adjective* and *verb*. In the Nyāya system, *śabda* is a recognised "category" and there have been long dissertations on its nature and use. But wherever such discussions occur they concern themselves with *śabda* as such, *i.e.*, with the *concept* it embodies and as a "category" of the Nyāya philosophy. Thus, in that well known work of Nyāya—the *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*—the grammatical and linguistic aspect of speech is hard to disentangle from the Nyāya philosophy which enmeshes it.

Luckily for India—and for the world—very early in the history of Indian thought attention began to be paid to language *as language*. The analysis—the *vyākaraṇa*—of the Vedas gave the first start, and from the earliest times this *vyākaraṇa* was a recognised *vedāṅga*. And the Hindu mind sharply and clearly distinguished this analysis from the other *vedaṅgas* such as "poetics" and "etymology." In short language *quâ* language (not merely as an adjunct to thought) was analysed and all its facts were observed and classified long before the age of Pāṇini. What this great Grammarian did was to put together all that his predecessors had done and to rearrange it in his own way and to put upon it the stamp of his own genius and originality. We have now no means of knowing what was contained in the works of the Grammarians[1] who preceded Pāṇini and had analysed the language before him. His over-mastering genius has obliterated all traces of other earlier writers—at least from his own system. He has reshaped the whole into an organic unity in which it is almost impossible to separate the work of the earlier Grammarians from his own. His terminology is his own and is very carefully chosen. It does not encroach upon the province of any other science, and possesses the terseness of algebraical formulae, where each letter has its own signification and value. This sort of terminology has completely averted the danger of mixing up Grammar and Logic; for though thought and language are always wedded together, still in a scientific analysis it is better to consider each independently and by itself. At the very least the terms of Logic and of Grammar ought to be distinct and separate.

Pāṇini's analysis is not a mere pulling to pieces of the roots and their endings. He has gone far deeper. He has had the vision of the whole forest even while he was looking at each individual tree and shrub. He has recognised the essential type of the language he is analysing as also the fundamentals of language itself. This is clearly seen in his treatment of the grammatical categories. Here he shows himself completely modern in his view. Of course we have only his terse algebraical formulae to go upon; but we must remember that in these each word (and often each syllable and even letter) has a clear implication. We are not to rest content with a mere *translation* of his *sūtras*, but should go deep into all their varied implications.

The *sūtra* we have to consider in connection with our present inquiry is सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् (I. 4. 14). Boethlingk in his edition of Pāṇini[2] translates this thus: "Was auf eine Casus, oder

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[1] Note that I use the word *Grammarian*. Yāska was an "etymologist." Some people are of opinion that the *Kātantra* and one or two other works represent pre-Pāṇinian ideas.

[2] Ed. of 1887, p. 32.

Personalendung ausgeht, heisst Pada (Wort)," *i.e.*, "*Pada* (or word) is what ends with a *sup-* or a *tiṅ*-ending." In this *sūtra* Pāṇini has embodied several fundamental ideas of linguistics. In the first place this *sūtra* defines a grammatical word (*pada*). Note that he says *pada* not *śabda,* for he is dealing with *grammar* and not philosophy. With Pāṇini the *śabda* (the abstract concept) has no significance until it has become a *pada,* or the part of a *vākya* (sentence). For in language a word by itself has no value unless it forms part of a sentence. This follows directly from the very definition of language. We may define language as a means by which thought may be conveyed from one mind to another. And as far as this present discussion goes we may confine ourselves to articulate and written human speech. *Śabda* is merely a concept, and *one* concept by itself can convey no thought from one mind to another, it has to be combined with another in order that the purpose of language may be achieved. In other words language (*i.e.*, conveying of thought from one mind to another) can come only when at least two concepts are put together. When this is done we get a sentence (*vākya*). This is the fundamental idea of linguistics, that *the sentence is the unit of language.* These concepts (or rather the articulate or written symbols of these concepts or *śabdas*) when they come together in a sentence are called by Pāṇini *padas.* So the first implication of this *sūtra* (I. 4. 14) is that the sentence is the unit of language and that *śabda* by itself has no grammatical value unless it is first converted to a *pada.*

The Grammarian takes cognisance of a word only when it has become a *pada.* So, our next point will be to consider how this change can be brought about. This is achieved, as we have already hinted above, when two words (concepts) are combined together, that is to say by putting together[1] words in a sentence. Now this can be done in many different ways, and a scientific division and tabulation of languages depends entirely upon the different methods of sentence-construction (*i.e.*, syntax). We need not stop to describe the various types of languages that exist in the world. Suffice it to say that the language which Pāṇini analyses—Sanskrit—is a language of the suffix-inflecting type. Pāṇini therefore classifies the *padas* first of all under two heads, the *sub-anta* and the *tiṅ-anta*. The *anta* clearly defines the essential characteristic of the Sanskrit type, *viz.*, suffix-inflection. A third class is also mentioned—the *avyaya*—but this is clearly recognised as a special class of the *sub-anta*.[1] Thus we get the three "parts of speech" in Pāṇini *sub-anta, tiṅ-anta* and *avyaya*. And these cover exactly the same ground between them as the eight parts of speech of the Western writers.

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[1] It is not necessary that *both* should be expressed. Only one might be actually uttered but the other is understood or implied by the context or by the "logic of circumstances."

In any language these words which connote action are always sharply distinguished from the rest. And though the classification of words into the eight parts of speech may be overlapping, still it is fairly sharp as far as verbs are concerned, and at any rate the boundaries of the verb in grammar are fairly clear and in the inflectional languages in their full synthetic stage (*e.g.*, Sanskrit or Greek) verbs can be easily picked out in a sentence. The whole set of inflections for verbs are quite distinct from those used for nouns and the other parts of speech. The classification of Pāṇini therefore is quite clear and the divisions are mutually exclusive. Then there are also the words grouped together under the heading *avyaya*, which may be further subdivided into two (*i*) those without any endings whatever and (*ii*) those which show an ending. And in the latter class the only endings found are the *sup*-endings. And the one characteristic of these *avyayas* is that their form is unvarying. So there is full justification for maintaining that these words are unvarying forms of *sub-antas*.

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[1] *Cf.* II. 4. 82, etc.

Pāṇini thus avoids the confusion naturally caused in the Western system of grammar. We, who have learnt according to the Western system, have an idea that there is some inherent power in the concept itself, in other words, that there is a sort of *śabda-śakti*, which determines the "part of speech." This confusion arises, as we have seen, because the compilers of grammars in the West have had no special terminology of their own, but have borrowed it from the science of thought. In fact, until quite recently, there had been practically no investigation of grammar *quâ* grammar in the West. Pāṇini, on the other hand, keeps the science of thought strictly apart and confines himself solely to the analysis of the *language*. And in the course of his investigations he has fully understood the nature of the language he is analysing, he has grasped firmly the fact that the sentence is the unit of language and he has, therefore, laid down that the *grammatical* worth of a word (in Sanskrit) is not dependent upon the concept embodied in it but is to be determined by the ending which has been added to it.

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA

Reviews

The Indian Colony of Champa by Phanindranath Bose, M.A.. Professor of History, Visvabharati, Santiniketan ; 162 pages ; published in the Asian Library series by the Theosophical Publishing House. Another book of Prof. Bose "*Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*" has been previously published in the same series. The works of Prof. Bose, as usual, deal with interesting topics of ancient Indian History. The Indian colonisation of Champa is one of the most glorious chapters of the colonial expansion of India and any attempt, however imperfect it may be, to supply some information on it is welcome. The ancient Hindu colony of Champa, now fallen in oblivion, occupied the greater part of modern Annam and Cochin-China and was founded by Indian settlers most probably towards the beginning of the Christian era. Most of the works on its past history has been done by French scholars. Mr. Bose was sufficiently acquainted with these researches for having undertaken this work.

The book contains eight chapters and the last three of them, *Cultural History of Champa*, *Kingship in Champa*, and *Art and Sculpture of Champa* are the most interesting. Mr. Bose has mostly drawn his information from the work of Georges Maspero, "*Le Royaume de Champa,*" published first in *Toung Pao* (1910-1913), and then as a separate volume in 1914. The work of M. Maspero is an excellent compilation of all that was done on the history of Champa till 1910, and Mr. Bose could not have found a better and surer guide. But unfortunately some inaccuracies have escaped the notice of Mr. Bose, mistakes which do not occur in the work of Maspero. I will point out only a few of them.

P. 6—M. Barth was never a student of M. Abel Bergaigne as the author supposes.

P. 15—The different names of Champa are not correctly stated. Çanf (or Tsanf and not Cauf or Tsauf) of the Arabs ; Cyamba of Marco-Polo ; Campe of Odoric de Pordenone. Identification with Zabai (*Z'αβαi*) of Ptolemy is too problematic to be accepted. The author states on the same page that the Chams "have changed their Hindu faith for Islam." But it is not exact. There are Hindu Chams even now. I have myself visited the villages of Hindu Chams in the vicinity of Phanrang and Nhatrang during my tour in Annam. Cf. also the book of Cabaton—*Les nouvelles recherches sur les Chams.*

P. 19—"Fu-nan (comprising Indo-China and Cambodia)" is unintelligible. Fu-nan in all probability occupied a greater part of modern Cambodia, that is to say the valley of the Mekong and a part of the valley of the Menam. *Hun-tien* is most probably the transcription of the Sanskrit name *Kaundinya.*

P. 30—"The kingdom of Champa was *at that time* divided into various provinces such as Pānduranga Vijaya, Kauthāra, etc...*on the south* there was Amaravati (under the Chinese domination)" This is a misleading adaptation from the work of M. Maspero (Reprint of 1914, p. 69) who says, "The country of Chams were divided in principalities corresponding to provinces which were *later on* called Pāṇḍuranga, Vijaya, Kauthara, etc... one of these which came to be later on, called Amarāvati was, if the southern boundary of the Chinese empire is placed at Cape Bantam, under the nominal dependency of the Hans." So Amarāvati was not in South Champa but really in the north. Mr. Bose describes it as such on p. 121 of his work.

P. 121—The port of Vijaya is given as Sri-Vijaya through mistake, It is in all probability *Sri-Vinaya.* The original name appears in the Chinese transcription as *she-li-pi-ni* which seems to be based on *Sri-Vinaya. Cf. p'i-ni-mu* for *Vinayamātrikā.*

P. 151—"*Uttarakalpa* of the Śaivas"—M. Bergaigne does not identify it with *Śāktānandataraṅgini* as Mr. Bose supposes. M. Bergaigne simply states that the work is quoted in the Tantric compilation, known as *Śāktānandataraṅgini.*

As it is not the place to point out all the inaccuracies which occur in the work of Mr. Bose, we would only request him to revise the book when the need for a second edition presents itself. But inspite of these inaccuracies we recommend the book to the students of ancient Indian history and to all those who are interested in the subject. Nothing has been as yet written in English on the subject—a subject which is of great interest to all Indians. Mr. Bose deserves every credit for introducing these subjects to the Indian readers in an accessible manner, as many of them have no means of going to the original works written in French.

P. C. B.

The Law of Christ, Sermons by a Buddhist at the Church of St. Alban (Liberal Catholic), Sydney, by C. Jinarājadāsa, M.A. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras). The author is the well-known Vice-President of the Theosophical Society and a man of deep culture and learning. As a writer and speaker he is second only to Mrs. Besant herself. This is one of the latest of his books and consists of over thirty sermons preached to Christian audiences. They are all of them beautiful in their conception and language, but that is what one expects from the author. Their true value lies in the fact that here we have Christianity viewed by a cultured non-Christian, who possesses a deep understanding of the scriptures of that religion and has a reverence for the Founder of that Faith which few Christians can rival. These sermons would provide material for meditation to Christian and non-Christian alike, and they emphasise clearly the main thesis of Theosophy that all Religions come from the same Source. Sentences like, "the real Christian then must seek the Christ in all, and find the Christ each day, and so make the days of the year all Christmas days," or "the essence of spirituality, so far as I have lived the life of the spirits is to find what I have discovered of God in the heart of every man," taken at random from the book, give a taste of what it is like. The author has been preaching many many years about trying to realise "God, our fellow-man"—essentially the same gospel was preached by Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa—which is the essence of the teaching of all religions and this gospel has been preached in all languages. What the Vice-President of the Theosophical Society has done is to re-interpret it in the language of the twentieth century.

I. J. S. T.

Nirvana, by George S. Arundale (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras). This book relates some of the deepest of human experiences—those which touch the Cosmic Consciousness, in wonderfully vivid language. Two chapters have specially attracted my notice—"Mother Light" and "Dangers of Nirvana." The last especially is very well worth being considered by even ordinary human beings who strive upwards. There always comes to each one of us, in the moments of our triumphal achievements, the sense of impatience with those who are below us. That feeling is in its essence one of separation and on the path of spirituality that feeling is the greatest danger of all. The Hindu Scriptures call it *ahaṃkāra*, and Milton has told us of the *pride* of Satan. That is the subtlest foe to overcome; through that came the final temptations of Christ and of Buddha by the Prince of Evil. Years ago I knew the author and had the privilege of working in close association with him. His charming personality, his hard practical commonsense and his deep spirituality taught me lessons then, which I have never forgotten. To-day again this book reveals to me my old friend just the same lovable and loving person, yet still different inasmuch as he is at a much higher spiritual level. The heights to which he has risen have not made him giddy, he is still in full possession of his commonsense and though he has had such wonderful experiences he has not forgotten his kinship with common humanity. That is the one factor which makes his book open out to us *a living* experience, such as one we may have undergone ourselves or heard of an intimate friend doing so. To me it comes with greater vividness, for in every page I feel the presence my dear old friend George S. Arundale.

I. J. S. T.

Landmarks of Indian History Books I and II, (T. Nelson and Sons, price 2 *s*. each). These two little books are intended for "young people in India." The style is sufficiently attractive for children and I think it will interest young people of English parentage in India, but for Indian children the book is somewhat (though not very) difficult. In the spelling of Indian names there are some glaring mistakes (*Bishma* for instance) and it would have been better in a book for children to omit all diacritical marks. The stories are well chosen and interesting, but there are sometimes uncalled-for remarks by the author which do not seem to be in good taste and they mar the whole beauty of the tale. Thus in introducing the story of how Prithvi Raj and his uncle Surajmal fought the whole day against each other and at night sat down to feed together, the author says: "I must tell you one story, because even if it is not true it shows so well the kind of people the Rajputs were." Would the writer have said so about the tale of Bruce and the Spider or about the Six Burghers of Calais? There are several other places where a sensitive Indian would find the remarks of the author rather galling and it would have been better if the author had told the stories in plain words without adding uncalled-for opinions and insinuations introduced by the words "I suppose." In places these remarks savour of patronage which no Indian can tolerate to-day. One such uncalled-for remark is found on the very last page of Book II with reference to Sivaji. May we hope that when another story book of Indian History has to be written the author would try to put himself (or herself) in the position of an Indian reader? After all these books are meant to rouse the spirit of hero-worship among the young and therefore any remarks of the author beyond the tale are absolutely uncalled-for.

POST-GRADUATE

Pushparath (in Bengali), by Kshitish Chandra Bagchi, M.A. published by the Ramkrishna Library, 30 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta—92 pages.

This small book deserves special notice here as it is the first of its kind, written in Bengali. The book deals with different kinds of aeroplanes, monoplanes, balloons, etc., their discovery and mechanisms. It is mainly based on Claston's *Mastery of the Air.* with several additional chapters, on Sir Samuel Hoare and his Recent historic flight to India, and on the the technical words concerning aviation and their Bengali synonyms, In European languages there are different series of publications containing information on the famous scientific discoveries of the contemporary world meant for School-boys and laymen, but in India not much has as yet been done in that direction. It is needless to emphasise on the necessity of such publications which will really inspire the boys with the examples of the illustrious martyrs, to the cause of science and will help them in forming a scientific attitude in life. We are lacking in it too much. We, therefore, recommend the book to the Text Book Committee. The book is written in a lucid style. Technical words have been explained and simplified as much as possible to make the book understandable to the school boys and over and above the book has been profusely illustrated by the designs of different kinds of aeroplanes and their machines.

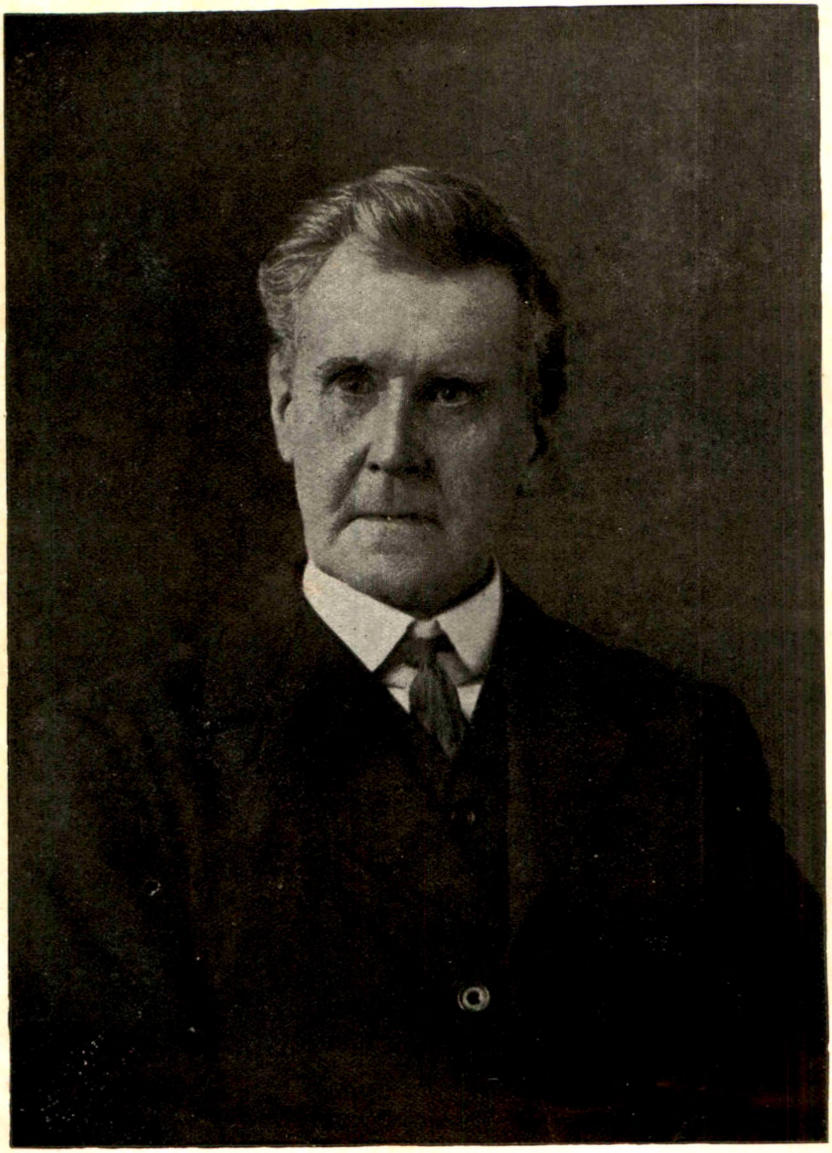
P. C. B.

Home and the School, by M. M. Gidvani (Sunshine Publishing House, Engineer Building, Princes Street, Bombay, price Re. 1-8). This is a small book of sketches depicting the life at home and in the educational institutions in India and brings out in glaring contrast the defects of our modern educational system. It began as an imposition from above by the higher powers and has ever since borne the essential stamp of its foreign origin and inspiration. And this system has failed, as it was bound to fail, to supply the needs of our nation. So much is made at present of vernacular instruction, but unless the *spirit* of the whole is changed the language matters not a scrap. Mr. Gidvani has touched all the essential points of this problem and his sketches are in places quite comic, but more often the tragedy of the waste of human effort and of human lives is depicted in words that call forth tears. This is a book well worth perusal, but the printing and get-up leave much to be desired.

POST-GRADUATE

Voice of Aryavartta, Life and Message of Rishi Dayanand, by T. L. Vaswani, (Ganesh & Co., Madras). A fine little book worthy to be put into the hands of a young man or woman. It is addressed to the Youth of India and the Message of Dayananda is inspiring indeed. The message is contained in one word *shakti.* That forms the keystone of the Sage's teaching to India, down-trodden and impotent. That is what his Arya Samaj has been working for, that is what great leaders like Shraddhanand lived for and died for. The book is written in beautiful language of which the author is a wonderful master, the printing and get-up is fine and the book should find a place upon the shelves and in the hearts of the Youth of India.

POST-GRADUATE



PROFESSOR HENRY STEPHEN, M.A., D.D., Ph.D.

Ourselves

PROFESSOR HENRY STEPHEN.

We have to announce with sincere regret that Professor Henry Stephen, M.A., D.D., Ph.D. is obliged on account of age and failing health to sever his connection with the University as Professor of English in the Post-Graduate Department. His connection with the re-organised University of Calcutta began in 1914 when at the invitation of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee he joined the teaching staff after having cut off his connection with the Scottish Churches College with which had been incorporated the Free Church Institution, popularly known as the Duff College, of which Dr. Stephen was for about thirty years a professor of outstanding merit. Thus for nearly the last fifteen years of his long career as a distinguished Professor he was at the head of the English department of this University with conspicuous success. He honourably served the University in various important capacities: as a Fellow of the Senate, as an Examiner, as a Professor and as the Chairman of the English Board in the Post-Graduate Department, and an able and important member of other Boards of Studies and of numerous Committees where his sober judgment and ripe experience were of immense value. He was also the Editor-in-chief of the *Calcutta Review* (Third Series) to which he made valuable contributions. In recognition of his eminence as a scholar the University conferred on him in 1921 the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The signal services rendered by him as a profound scholar, renowned educationist and efficient teacher to the cause of higher education in Bengal can never be overrated. But a higher service for which his name is cherished in the affectionate hearts of nearly three generations of educated men is the noble ideal of selfless devotion to the intellectual and moral elevation of the youth which he always followed in his own life and held up before others by his high character and his loving heart. In this country he has often been compared with an ancient *Rishi*. It is no exaggeration to say that in recent days no European Professor came so heartily into the most intimate personal contact with his students or extended to them so readily and generously his helping hand in all possible ways as their best friend and well-wisher. Dr. Stephen concentrated all his energies on his work as an educationist and has always lived the detached and tranquil life of a true scholar. His is indeed a dedicated life. Remarkably simple in his ways and habits, wonderfully open-hearted and generous, he commands the admiration and regard of all his fellow-workers as much as love and respect from all his pupils.

In his retirement the Calcutta University has sustained a heavy loss. The Senate in its last meeting (June 27, 1927) has fittingly recorded its high appreciation of his services in a resolution moved by the Vice-Chancellor on the recommendation of the Syndicate and carried unanimously. Eloquent tribute was sincerely paid on the occasion by the Senators who spoke on the motion and we associate ourselves with them in their genuine appreciation of him and in the fervent hope and wish that he may speedily recover from the illness for which he is now an inmate of the Presidency General Hospital.

* * *

BIRTHDAY HONOURS AND THE UNIVERSITY.

We beg to offer our cordial congratulations to Rai Bahadur Jnanchandra Ghosh, M.A., Registrar, Calcutta University, for the honour conferred on him by the Government on the 3rd June last. Rai Bahadur Jnanchandra is a very hard-working and conscientious officer of the University and it is but quite in the fitness of things that the Government has recognised his services by conferring on him the title of Rai Bahadur. In congratulating him at the Senate meeting on the 27th June last, the Vice-Chancellor said: "It is not only a privilege but also a pleasure to work with an officer like Rai Bahadur Jnanchandra Ghosh."

We also offer our cordial congratulations to Pandit Anantakrishna Sastri, one of the most learned members of the Post-Graduate Department in Sanskrit. The title of *Mahamahopadhyaya* could not have been conferred on a more deserving scholar.

* * *

RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

Preliminary Scientific M. B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 183, of whom 134 passed, 43 failed, one was expelled and 5 were absent.

First M. B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 221 of whom 107 passed, 111 failed, 1 was expelled and 2 were absent.

B. Com.—

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination was 111 of whom 44 passed, 58 failed, 1 was expelled and 8 were absent. Of the successful candidates 2 were placed in Class I.

I. A.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 4,216 of whom 140 were absent and 7 were disallowed; of the remaining 4,034 candidates, 2,004 passed, of whom 766 were placed in the First Division, 951 in the Second and 263 in the Third Division,—the percentage of pass being 49·73.

I. Sc.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 4,516, of whom 136 were absent and 7 were disallowed. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 4,342, of whom 2,113 passed. Of the successful candidates 1,026 passed in the First Division, 934 in the Second and 153 in the Third Division. The number of candidates to pass in one subject only was 15 and only one candidate passed in two subjects,—the percentage of pass being 49·7.

B. Sc.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,273, of whom 593 were successful, 44 were absent, 10 were expelled and 592 failed. Of the successful candidates 393 were placed on the Pass List and 99 on the Honours List,—the percentage of pass being 49·7. Of the candidates in the Honours List, 20 were placed in the First Class. Of the candidates in the Pass List, 101 passed with Distinction. In this connection the following tabular list indicating the percentage of pass from 1922 will be found interesting to our readers :

Year.			Percentage of Pass.
1922	...	...	70·3
1923	...	...	74·03
1924	...	...	72·5
1925	...	...	59·1
1926	...	...	58·9
1927	...	...	49·7

* * *

A NEW D. SC.

Mr. Praphullakumar Basu has just been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. The subjects of the theses submitted to and approved by the Board of Examiners are—(1)

On Thiodiazines, Parts I-VI; (2) Action of Halogenated Ketones on 1—substituted Thiosemicarbazides; (3) Studies in the Thiosemicarbazone Series; and (4) Mercaptans of the Purine Group.

* * *

FELICITATIONS TO DR. CHATTERJI AND TO DR. SEN.

We have been requested to print the following extract from a letter of Professor Sylvain Levi to the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University:

> "Suniti Kumar Chatterji's *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* is positively a masterpiece; I know of no work of this kind, where the matter has been so fully mastered, so thoroughly searched, so clearly exposed. Any scholar interested in any side of Bengali, even of Indian history or life, is sure to find there enrichment of knowledge and appeal to reflexion.
>
> And what shall I say of Dineshchandra Sen's *Eastern Bengal Ballads*? I must confess that I have a peculiar fondness for the man and for all his publications. He carries all his work, however technical it may be, in such a *rapt* of enthusiasm; he has such a love for whatever is Bengali, and his mystical *love* is not afraid of the most minute technicalities. No living man has probably contributed more to make Bengal understood, realized, felt, enjoyed by the Western mind."

* * *

MR. B. C. MAZUMDAR.

Professor A. C. Haddon, F.R.S., of Cambridge writes to Mr. B. C. Mazumdar (under date, 17th March, 1927) on perusal of his paper on *The Destiny of Man*, published in the January number of the *Calcutta Review* for 1927:

> "Your attempt to study the social evolution of man from a new angle appears to me to promise suggestive results and any new light thrown on the subject will be welcome."

Relating to the *Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India* by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar (published by the Calcutta University), in which it has been shown for the first time how a large number of aboriginal tribes of the highlands of Central India are inter-related and bear genetic affinity to one another and how their social and religious institutions tend strongly to prove that the area aforesaid has been the land of their racial characterisation, Professor Haddon writes :

> "This little book strikes me as being a careful attempt to clear up some of the problems of that complicated region, and as such, is useful. The University has done well to publish this book."

This distinguished anthropologist writes in his letter to the author :

> "Many thanks for your valuable and interesting little book on the Sabara-Kol people. I hope to make use of it in the future, but for the present I am engaged with New Guinea."

Sir Edward A. Gait, the late Governor of Bihar and Orissa, says in his letter to the Registrar, Calcutta University :

> "I have not yet had time to study it carefully, but may say at once that I quite agree with his (author's) main point, *viz.*, that the Kols, or Munda-speaking peoples, have been in occupation of the highlands of Central India for many centuries."

Sir Edward speaks of the author in his letter to him :

> "It is wonderful how you manage to write on so many subjects without being able to use your eyes. Very few have been able to overcome a handicap like this so successfully as you have."

Rai Bahadur Hiralal, the joint author of *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, supports the views of the author regarding all the main propositions enunciated and discussed in the book.

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NOTICE

With the next number, the Sixth Year of the Third Series of the Calcutta Review comes to a close. Subscribers not desirous of continuing their connection with the *Review* will kindly inform the Manager to that effect on or before the 15th September, 1927.

P. N. BANERJEE,
Hony. Secretary, Calcutta Review,
Senate House, Calcutta.

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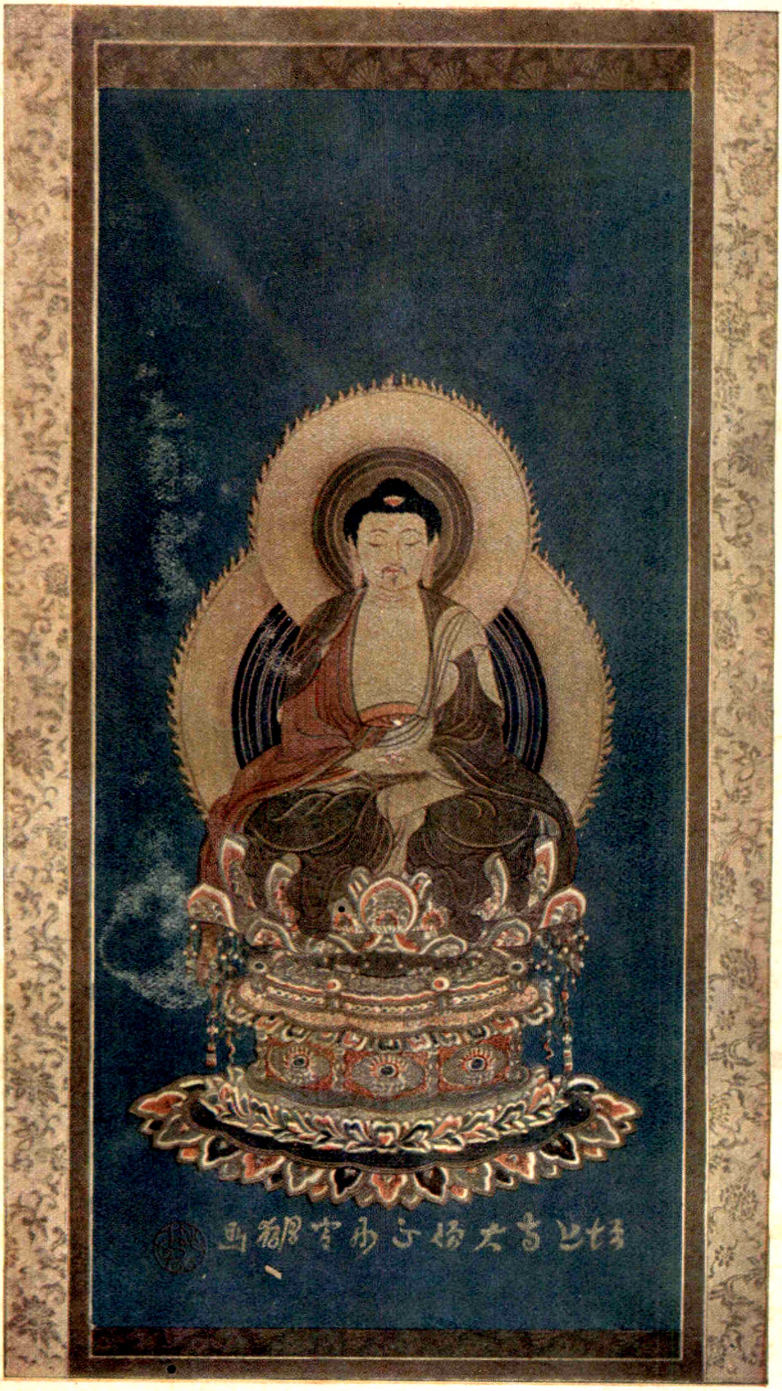

AMITĀVA

[From a painting on silk by the Abbot of Zōjōji (early part of the nineteenth century). From the Art Collection of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1927

THE PRESS AND JOURNALISM IN JAPAN

About the hardest task I have undertaken is to convince Americans, fairly well informed, well read men and women, that the two newspapers I represent are not tabloids with sex appeal, yet enjoy a combined circulation of more than two million copies a day. They laugh at me if I tell them that these papers do not even entertain housewives with full-page department store bargain advertisements, nor their husbands with the doings of the "Gumps" or the antics of "Cicero Sapp." And when I tell them that they are serious affairs filled with political, literary, financial, economic matters, both domestic and international, and still make twenty-four million Yen a year, or a net profit of two million, they become plainly suspicious and threaten investigation by Senator Read, of Missouri.

The suspicion is not unreasonable. Japan is a small country, considerably smaller than California—that is, Japan proper, without Korea or Formosa. Its population numbers something like sixty-five million. How is it possible for so small a country to have such big newspapers—bigger, in terms of circulation, than any American paper, not excluding tabloids ? Yet Japan has 1,137 dailies, and parenthetically 2,850 periodicals. The aggregate circulation of all the daily newspapers probably exceeds ten million, or a newspaper to every six of the population.

Of this total circulation about half is claimed by ten of the larger publications in Tokyo and Osaka. Let us glance over the list. First come the *Osaka Mainichi* and the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*, publications of the Osaka Mainichi Company. Then there are the *Osaka Asahi* and the *Tokyo Asahi*, both published by the Osaka Asahi Company. These are the "Super Big Four" of Japan's newspaper world. The two companies are the fiercest rivals one could imagine. The Mainichi Company, a stock corporation, under the able leadership of its veteran president, Mr. Hikoichi Motoyama, has been forging ahead steadily until to-day it claims a daily circulation of one million and three hundred thousand copies for the *Osaka Mainichi* and eight hundred thousand for the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*. The Asahi Company, presided over by the venerable Mr. Ryuhei Murayama, runs a close second—almost a neck-and-neck race. It, too, claims a combined circulation of two million, more or less. Probably the only newspapers whose circulations exceed that of the *Osaka Mainichi* are the *London Daily Mail*, the Paris *Journal* and the *Petit Parisien*.

After the "Super Big Four" come what may be called the smaller "Big Six." all of Tokyo. First in this group is the *Jiji* (Current Events), established by the late great Fukuzawa, "Sage of Mita" and founder of the famous Keio University. The journal to-day seems rather a pale shadow of its former brilliant self, yet still has a large number of steady clients throughout the country. It lays stress upon financial and diplomatic matters. Then comes the *Hochi* (Reporter), launched as party organ by the Lieutenants of the late Marquis Okuma, long famous as Japan's "Grand Old Man" and as founder of Waseda University. This journal, in spite of its handicap as the avowed mouthpiece of Kensai-kai, the party now in power, is still regarded, in point of circulation, as the biggest of the Big Six. It is known as a "home" paper with a large patronage among women. The *Chugai Shogya* (Domestic and Foreign Commerce), a journal more decidedly economic and commercial than the *Jiji*, is favored by bankers and business men. The *Kokumin* (Nation), largely due to editorials and historical essays from the facile pen of its veteran editor, Iichiro (Soho) Tokutomi, finds followers among students and conservatives. Its star has somewhat waned since Tokutomi espoused the cause of the Katsura Cabinet in 1912 and has become somewhat reactionary, for in Japan a newspaper to retain its hold upon the public must be like the fabled Irishman always "agin the government." The *Yomiuri* has long enjoyed a reputation as a literary journal, but it seems to be losing ground before the onslaughts of the *Tokyo Asahi* and the *Nichi-Nichi*. The *Yorodzu* (All News), once a powerful "muck-raking" journal under the ingenious, versatile and often unscrupulous leadership of the late Shuroku Kuroiwa, has lost its influence, like the *Kokumin*, since Kuroiwa extended too ardent a support to the Government under Marquis Okuma's premiership. The circulations of the Big Six vary from the *Hochi's* half a million to the *Yorodzu's* one hundred thousand. Even the staid *Jiji* claims two hundred thousand. The Tokyo *Moiyu* (Evening News) which champions the cause of the poor and of the working class, is not counted among the big papers, but has a large circulation, possibly over two hundred thousand. And to these half a dozen minor newspapers, and the list of Tokyo's "metropolitan" journals is complete.

Tokyo is not the home of Japan's greatest newspapers. Three hundred and fifty miles west is Osaka, a city almost as big as Chicago, which claims the head offices of the Asahi Company and of the Mainichi Company. The rise of modern industries in southwestern Japan, especially the rapid growth of Kobe as a port of international commerce, has shifted press supremacy from Tokyo to Osaka. The increase of the Japanese population in Korea and Manchuria has also helped Osaka's newspaper enterprise. Still the Tokyo journalists take a certain pride in their newspapers located in Japan's political and cultural center and in constant touch with big men and big affairs such as are found only at the Empire's capital. Osaka, unlike Tokyo, has only a few newspapers. Take from it the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi*, and there remain only three or four papers of small consequence.

One of the first discoveries a Japanese makes upon his arrival in America is the absence here of what may be called a national newspaper—a newspaper which circulates in all parts of the country. While at home he would read an American journal, say, the Chicago *Tribune*, which modestly calls itself the "Greatest Newspaper in the world," and would imagine that it was read all over the States. It had not occurred to him that the vastness of the country required more than one or two news centers. He is surprised to find out that the *Tribune* circulates only in Chicago and within a radius of some two hundred miles of it, and that the same limitation applies to the metropolitan journals in New York. On the contrary, the big metropolitan newspapers in Japan are really national, circulating all over the country. This, perhaps, partly accounts for their large circulations.

The most interesting chapters in the contemporary history of Japanese journalism are those relating to the sharp competition between the Mainichi and the Asahi interests. It is an exciting story. It is a war, peaceful but ruthless,—a contest for the winning of which either side is ready to go to the limit of its resources. Six years ago the *Osaka Mainichi* erected a magnificent five-story building at a cost of two millions and a half *yen*—the best-appointed newspaper building in the world, as the *Mainichi* publishers then thought. This was soon followed by the erection of the Tokyo *Nichi-Nichi* building, on a somewhat smaller scale but still the best newspaper building in Tokyo. Of course, the *Asahi* would not let such "affronts" pass unchallenged, and is about to move into a new eight-story building near the Tokyo railway station—a "super newspaper building'' as it is called, costing three million *yen.* In 1924 the *Mainichi* sent its hydroplane around all the main islands of Japan. Then the Asahi went the *Mainichi* one better by sending an airplane across Siberia and Russia to Paris. The *Mainichi* has since purchased five airplanes which are used in carrying photographs and other matters between its Tokyo and its Osaka offices, or to make flights for advertising purposes. This the *Asahi* has countered by establishing a regular air mail service for the Government between Tokyo and Osaka, and between Tokyo and Sendai. For years the *Mainichi* has been issuing at a considerable sacrifice a Braille weekly for the benefit of the blind. To counter this the *Asahi* has, also at a loss, been publishing a condensed and indexed monthly edition in book form, which, small only in size, is exactly the same in substance as the regular daily edition—an enterprise highly appreciated by libraries and those who preserve the paper for future reference.

The keen rivalry between the great newspapers redounds to the benefit of the public. If one issues an evening edition and distributes it without additional charge among the regular subscribers of its main morning edition, the others are obliged to follow suit. If one issues a free local supplement for each of the provinces where the paper circulates, the others must do likewise. This supplement is peculiar to Japanese journalism. The *Mainichi,* for instance, prints thirteen different supplements, each giving minor news relating to the certain locality for which it is intended. Thus the reader gets the morning and evening editions with a local supplement, all for one subscription price. Nor is this all. The city subscribers to any of the larger newspapers have the benefit of free delivery of ''extras'' issued at frequent intervals in times of important events such as war, earthquake disaster, or the serious illness of the Emperor. The Japanese extra, unlike the American, is just a sheet giving only the news for which it is issued. The size varies according to the length of the item printed. It may be just a slip of paper, or it may be as large as a full page of the regular edition. The way these extras are sold in the street is interesting. Our newsboys carrying extras do not go about it in the leisurely manner of their Yankee fellows. They tear through the streets ringing bells, often flying small flags, shouting "Extra! Extra!" as though the world were coming to an end. You simply have to buy an extra lest you should go to your doom unawares!

With competition so keen, the large newspapers expend enormous sums in gathering and distributing news. The *Osaka Mainichi* (including the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*) expended four hundred and forty thousand yen in reporting in words and photographs the great earthquake disaster of September, 1923. It mobilized a large force of reporters and photographers and couriers, and used airplanes to gather news and to take photographs and transmit them to Osaka, for the usual means of communication was for the moment demolished. And while the devastated regions were still aflame or heaving, the *Mainichi*, besides telling the horrors of the holocaust in the regular editions and in extras, sent out to all parts of the country, even to Korea and Formosa, moving pictures of the disaster taken by its own men. Nor does the *Mainichi* or the *Asahi* rely entirely upon mechanical devices for the transmission of photographs and mail matters. May not the airplane break down on the way? May not rail communication be interrupted? To be prepared against such emergencies, the *Mainichi* keeps a flock of well-trained carrier pigeons, two hundred strong. These birds often accompany reporters and air pilots to "cover" important happenings. In transmitting news matters over wire and by telephone the Japanese press is greatly handicapped by the inefficiency or inadequacy of the Government-owned telegraph and telephone service. Our Department of Communications does not accommodate the press as do American telegraph companies. The idea of leased wire with Government operators working certain hours at newspaper office is so foreign to the bureaucrats that it has not been adopted in spite of the repeated appeals of the publishers. Moreover as our wires are not underground but overhead our telephone and telegraph service is often interrupted by storms and earthquakes. Hence, the pigeons and aeroplanes and motor cycles are considered as a part of the necessary newspaper equipment.

The manner in which the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi* reported Emperor Taisho's illness, which ended in his demise on December, 25, was highly illustrative of the lively competition always existing between them. As early as the beginning of August, long before the Emperor's condition was known to be critical, the two newspapers rented houses near the detached palace at Hayama and began to station reporters there, each acting clandestinely so that its strategy would not be detected by the other. Each made the most elaborate preparations, installing many telephones, improvising a photo studio, mustering airplanes, motor cycles, and carrier pigeons. By December the *Asahi* force at Hayama had increased to sixty men, including office boys, couriers and chauffeurs. The *Mainichi* had no less. All this ado just to report the Emperor's death by extra ten or fifteen minutes before the other papers. What a mania for scoops! Incidentally this Hayama contest shows what great importance the public, and therefore the press, attaches to news of this nature—news relating to the Imperial House. One wishes that the Japanese press would devote as much attention and money to important foreign news.

The large force temporarily stationed at Hayama by the *Asahi* and by the *Mainichi* is an indication of the large numbers of their employees. The Osaka Mainichi Company, with two vernacular and one English newspapers and a few periodicals has 405 men on the editorial staff, 368 in the business section, 120 at local branch offices, 858 in the composition and printing department, 457 office boys, messengers and couriers, and 256 in the shipping department—a total of 2,465. Undoubtedly the *Asahi* force is no smaller. The buildings housing such large forces are proportionately large. The magnificent *Osaka Mainichi* building is occupied entirely by the newspaper. Almost a city by itself, it has a restaurant, a barber shop, bath rooms, roof gardens, a meteorological observatory, lecture halls, elegantly furnished reception halls, a well appointed library, all for the exclusive use of the newspaper, besides, of course, all the essential equipment for editorial and printing purposes. The new *Tokyo Asahi* building, when opened, will probably have more innovations to boast of.

The news-gathering system in Japan is not much different from the corresponding systems in other countries. The Rengo (Associated News) is organized along the line of the Associated Press for the purpose of supplying its members, ten of the larger metropolitan newspapers, with foreign news. It has some sort of arrangement with the Associated Press for American news, and with Reuter for European news. In the field of domestic news the Teikoku Tsushin (Empire News Agency) and the Dempo Tsushin (Telegraph News Agency) are the largest. The latter, through an arrangement with the United Press, also obtains American and European news for its clients. To the smaller journals, these Agencies are the exclusive sources of news supply.

The larger ones, in addition to material supplied by these agencies, gather news through their own organizations, as witness the nerve-straining activities of the *Asahi* and of the *Mainichi* during the anxious four months preceding the Emperor's death. For foreign news, these big papers station their own correspondents at centers in Europe, America, and Asia, for they want dispatches based upon Japanese observation besides those sent by foreign agencies. There is however, as yet no Japanese newspaper which attaches to foreign news so much importance as does, for instance, the New York Times.

In Japan, as elsewhere, newspaper work is shrouded in a sort of glamour, and the newspaper writer goes about with a peculiar halo envied by some, dreaded or disliked by many. As a boy

I cherished an ambition to become a great newspaper man. What a sport, I fancied, to write editorials impeaching the Government or lecturing a prime minister as if he were a schoolboy! It was the time when the great Fukuzawa, the ultra-liberal of his day, was captivating the public with his lucid editorials in the *Jiji*—when the learned Tokutomi was fascinating the younger generation with his brilliant interpretation of Western political ideas in the *Kokumin*. And, indeed, the newspapers in those days existed for editorials rather than for news. The editor was a crusader and a reformer, as the Government was still inclined to be autocratic, and the press had to grapple with many obstacles. It was this crusading spirit which fascinated the young men, for fight always appeals to youth. Every newspaper in those days had a "jail editor" whose sole function was to go to jail when the real editor violated the law, often deliberately,—a practice which still survives though the dummy editor now-a-days seldom has occasion to go to jail.

Japan owes much to her press for the liberalization of her Government. The anti-Government agitation of the press reached its climax between 1908 and 1918. During the titanic war with Russia in 1904-05 the Government, under the aegis of emergency measures, was inclined to interfere with the freedom of the press. The end of the war brought forth a sharp reaction, and the newspapers took up the cudgels with great vigor against the authorities. The fall of the Katsura Cabinet in 1913 was due to the combined agitation of the leading journals in Tokyo and Osaka. The Yamamoto Cabinet which followed also went down before the onslaughts of the press. Count Katsura represented the Choshu military clique. Admiral Yamamoto the Satsuma naval faction. Both were assailed by the press as inimical to constitutional government. The attack was led by the late Shuroku Kuroiwa, founder and editor of the vitriolic *Yorodzu*, on which I had my first newspaper training. He was a born fighter, intense in his likes and dislikes, dogged, unscrupulous, unflinching, thoroughly convinced that the end justified the means. When the Yamamoto Cabinet fell, the elder statesmen planned to empower Viscount Kiyoura, generally regarded as the protagonist of bureaucracy. Again the opposition of the press nipped the scheme in the bud. The resumption of power by Okuma, the Grand Old Man, in 1914 after a long retirement was made possible by the endorsement of the newspapers, for he had taken pains to cultivate the good will of the editors. Unfortunately Okuma's statesmanship did not measure up to general expectation, and the newspapers, especially Kuroiwa's *Yorodzu* which had supported the Premier wholeheartedly, lost influence as Okuma himself alienated popular sympathy. The greater newspapers such as the *Mainichi* and the *Asahi* withdrew their support from Okuma in order to protect their own integrity as independent organs. The advent of the Terauchi Cabinet in 1917 as successor to the Okuma ministry was looked upon as the last rally of the Choshu faction. Naturally it was the target of press criticism from the beginning. When in 1918 the high price of rice caused mob riots in various sections of the country, the Cabinet tried to suppress or to make innocuous the press reports of the incident. This brought forth vigorous protests from the newspapers which were in sympathy with the plight of the poor. The *Osaka Askhi* published an item which was interpreted by the authorities as an instigation of violence. This, coupled with other inflammatory utterances, caused the Government to prosecute the *Askhi,* and to persecute it in various other ways. All this added fuel to press antagonism against Premier Terauchi, and the Cabinet went down even before the *Askhi* case reached a decision.

With the fall of the Terauchi Cabinet the press may be said to have passed the crusading period, but the old tradition has persisted in more or less modified form. It is a singular fact that newspapers in Japan, to be popular and prosperous, must not support the government but must always remain free and untrammelled critics. Quite naturally, the metropolitan newspapers, except the Tokyo *Hochi*, organ of the Kensikai party, and the Tokyo *Chuo*, organ of the Seiyukai party, are independent. On the other hand, most provincial or small-town papers, whose business has been greatly curtailed by local supplements of metropolitan journals, manage to exist as party organs, more or less subsidized from party headquarters or by individual politicians.

With the passing of the crusading age, the age of great editorials has also passed. To-day the newspapers attach greater importance to news than to editorials. The decline of the Choshu military and the Satsuma naval factions as political power has also deprived the press of the foremost issue which had kept aflame the reformer's spirit among the editors. In the days to come the newspapers will devote increasing attention to economic problems, such as labor, overpopulation, food supply, and trade, as well as to international affairs, especially those calculated to promote peace among nations. This tendency has already become plain.

Foreign critics, studying Japan's press law in the statute book, usually arrive at the conclusion that the freedom of the press is something foreign to Japan. Such a conclusion is as right as the assumption that China, because she has a Constitution on paper, is a republic in reality. What I have said above tended to show that the Japanese press has been a great democratizing force—that it has been responsible for the rise and fall of many a cabinet. If the press law has objectionable provisions the editors know how to get around them. This does not mean that the editors are satisfied with the law as it stands. Its objectionable features are these :

First. The Minister of Home Affairs may prohibit the sale and distribution of an issue containing an item or items prejudicial to peace and order or to public morals. He may, if necessary, confiscate such an issue.

Second. The Minister of the Army, the Minister of the Navy, or the Minister of Foreign Affairs may issue an administrative order prohibiting or restricting the publication in the newspapers of military or diplomatic items.

Third. The newspapers shall not publish the details of preliminary examination of a criminal case before the case comes up for public trial, nor matters relating to criminal cases under preliminary examination, when their publication has been specifically prohibited by the procurators, nor the proceedings of law cases which are being heard in camera.

Fourth. The publisher, the editor, and the printer of a newspaper, which publishes an item or items derogatory to the Imperial House, or subversive of the existing body politic, shall be punished with imprisonment not exceeding two years and a fine not more than three hundred yen.

On paper these provisions appear formidable. In practice they are not serious obstacles unless the editor deliberately courts trouble. Apparently the authorities have learned a lesson from the vigorous anti-Government campaign waged by the press for many years, and the censors are becoming more and more liberal. When the Parliament is reorganized next year under the new manhood suffrage law, the movement will come to a head to remove or modify such provisions as have been found incompatible with the freedom of the press.

In fact censorship as practised in Japan is ineffectual, often absurd. The publisher submits to the censor's office a few copies of his paper as soon as it is off the press, but is free to distribute it without waiting for the censor's opinion—which usually fails to forthcome. The result is that the censor's injunction, when he is minded to issue one, reaches the publisher only after the distribution of the paper in question has for the most part become a *fait accompli*.

The phenomenal growth of the Japanese press seems all the more surprising when mechanical difficulties due to the peculiarities of the language is taken into consideration. Unlike the English newspaper, the Japanese newspaper uses about fourteen hundred different Chinese characters and forty-eight Japanese *kana* letters. Chinese characters, as a rule, serve to figure the principal words of the sentence, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, while the syllabic *kana* letters, interspersed throughout the text as participles, prepositions and the like, form connecting links between the principal words. This precludes the use of typewriter and linotype or intertype. The manuscripts must be handwritten, and the type must be handpicked. To the western printer the Japanese composition room is a despair. There are rows and rows of cases containing hundreds of thousands of types. The compositor and there are at least a hundred in a newspaper composition room—stands before an assigned section of a row, with copy and a small case in his left hand, and with his right hand picks out the types he needs and puts them in the case. As types easily wear out, the Osaka *Mainichi,* for instance, has eight Thomas Type Casting Machines constantly working. In addition it uses thirty-six monotypes. Smaller newspapers have no type casting machines of their own, but buy types from foundries. The sizes of type are standardized on a point system which is slightly different from the English system. For one thing, we designate larger founts by smaller numbers. Thus eighteen-point in English corresponds to one point in our system. The stereotyping and printing processes are the same as used by English newspapers, but the labor expended before reaching this stage is staggering. The distressing part is that there is no way out unless we change the language, which is impossible. For printing, the *Mainichi* uses fifteen multi-units super high-speed presses of the R. Hoe type. The *Asahi* uses the same machine.

In America the income of the newspapers comes mostly, perhaps entirely, from advertisements. The Japanese newspaper derives income almost equally from advertising and from the sale of paper. The subscription price is seventy *sen* a month for the smaller papers, and one *yen* for the larger, or two to five *sen* a copy. For one *yen* the *Mainichi* and the

Asahi deliver a morning and an evening edition with a local supplement to boot, as well as such "extras" as may be issued. The morning or main edition consists of eight pages, and the evening edition and the local supplement usually four pages each. The advertising rates are one *yen* eighty *sen* per insertion for a line of 15 five-point characters, about as large as six-point in English. Our lines, two inches long, run perpendicularly, and our columns, horizontally. As there are 1,716 lines to the page, a full-page advertisement would cost 3,088 *yen*. As a matter of fact, the amount is considerably larger, because special spaces or locations call for special rates. The most liberal advertisers are book and magazine publishers, followed by druggists, dry goods stores, and makers of toilet articles. The latest financial statements of the *Osaka Mainichi*, including the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*, shows an income of 10,000,000 *yen* from advertising and 14,000,000 *yen* from other sources, mostly from the sale of paper. The net earnings are reported to be 2,000,000 *yen*.

The English press of Japan is worthy of a few words. The *Osaka Mainichi* publishes in Osaka an eight-page English daily. This unquestionably is the most popular English journal, for it gives more Japanese news than the English journals published by foreigners in Japan. The *Japan Advertiser* in Tokyo, owned and edited by Americans, is a splendid newspaper, highly appreciated by the foreign community. The Kobe *Chronicle*, published by an Englishman, makes a speciality of attacking the Japanese Government and generally grumbling about Japan. The *Japan Times* of Tokyo, originally published by Mr. M. Zumoto as a Government mouthpiece, has frequently changed hands and for years has been a "sick" paper. Its present relationship with the Foreign Office is not clear.

The lot of the Japanese journalist, though it appeals to youthful imagination, has long been unenviable. Up to ten years ago his salary was comparatively small and his social status far from happy. The "scribes," except a few distinguished ones, were looked down upon by the rich and uppish class. Parents of the staid type refused to give their daughters to newspapermen. This condition has been greatly improved by the rise of great newspapers. The chief editor of the *Mainichi* is said to receive 30,000 *yen* a year. Salaries for less important positions are proportionately generous. This is almost a revolution in a country where cabinet ministers receive only 12,000 *yen* a year, and provincial governors 7,000 *yen*. Much of the credit for this desired change belongs to Mr. Hikoichi Motoyama, President of the Osaka Mainichi Publishing Company. Not only by initiating the better treatment of newspapermen, but by launching various social service enterprises in the name of his newspapers, he has contributed much towards the elevation of the status of the press and of the journalists in general. He has organized "travelling" hospitals for the benefit of the poor, donated a concert hall to the Osaka Municipality, contributed large funds to the advancement of science, held educational expositions, sent a scientific expedition to Northern Saghalien, encouraged athletics by various means. The *Asahi* is also doing splendid work along similar lines. Another ten years, and the newspaper man will be sought by every parent of every marriageable daughter under the Mikado's rule ! Who knows ?[1]

K. K. KAWAKAMI

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[1] The *Calcutta Review* publishes this article through the courtesy of its author and of the *Asia Magazine*, New York, for which it was originally written.

THE LIGHT OF FAITH

I took the world aside and whispered in its ear
My heart's supremest faith in work of human lore,
The stars that slumbered not would of its glory hear,
And old Time's wandering bark would reach the happy shore.

The journey of the spirit through heaven's endless space,
It would be staged by suns and strewn with star-like flower,
It'd pass through rainbowed arch and glide with golden grace,
O'er paths of maiden music to the Dawn Queen's bower.

When twilight lingered yet like day's sweet farewell speech,
And clouds lay listening low and stars hung out their light,
The world aside me called and put within my reach
The page of human fate unrolled in Book of Night.

The stars were quenched to clouds, the sun had shrunk to a stone,
The planets torn from place were hurled from world to world,
Across the daylight's faith there darkened blood and bone,
And hiding heaven's face black hatred upward curled.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

PLATO AND THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ

Any one who goes to the study of Plato with an intimate knowledge of Hindu thought, cannot fail being struck by the remarkable similarities that exist between the two systems. If we take the *Bhagavad-gītā* as an epitome of Hindu thought as we well may, we may point out some very striking similarities between it and the greatest of Plato's books, *viz.*, his *Republic.*

1. In *the first* place, both the author of the *Gītā* and of the *Republic* believed in a hierarchy of gods sharing the world with man. Thus, in Chapter iii. 11-16, the *Gītā* says that man should perform sacrifices to the gods—it is his solemn duty, and the gods being so propitiated will give the good things of earth to their worshipper. Plato also devotes a considerable portion of the first part of his Republic to a discussion as to what should and what should not be said about the gods ; and in 508, he speaks of the sun as one of the gods in heaven (των εν ουρανω θεων).

2. In the second place, Plato and the *Gītā* agree in the theory of *Guṇas* and the deductions drawn from it.

The *Gītā* has utilised the Sāṅkhya conception of *Guṇas* to such an extent as to classify not only types of character but religious worship, intellect, activity and similar other things also according to them. The *Guṇas* are three in number, *viz.*, *Sattva, Rajas,* and *Tamas* ; and consequently there are three types into which all the above things can be grouped. Thus, in Chap. iv. 13, the *Gītā* says in a general way that the four castes are divided according to the *Guṇas* and activity (*karma*). Chap. xiv. gives a more detailed account of the *Guṇas*. Thus :

(*i*) *Sattva* is pure, illuminating, free from trouble, and gives peace of mind and knowledge (*Sloka* 6). *Sattva* leads man to happiness and its success implies that the other two are kept in check (sls. 9-10). Clear and unsullied knowledge is a sign of *Sattva* (sl. 11). *Sattva* takes a man to the highest region (sl. 18).

Elsewhere also the *Gītā* pursues the same subject. A man in whom *Sattva* preponderates, will have his own type of religion, and other things also. For instance, he will be a worshipper of gods and not of other inferior beings (xvii. 4). His food, too, we are told, will be of a particular kind (xvii. 8). And his *Yajna* or sacrifice and his gifts also will bear the stamp of his character (xvii. 11, 20). Such a man's knowledge also is peculiarly characteristic of him (xviii. 20). It is knowledge of the highest order: he will see a unity running through all things and the eternal truth underlying them all. As an agent, such a man is free from all tinge of egotism and he will follow duty for its own sake and his actions will not be means to any ulterior ends (xviii. 23, 26). Such a man will possess the highest intelligence (xviii. 30).

(*ii*) *Rajas* as a *Guṇa* produces an eagerness to possess things, a love of wealth and similar active impulses (xiv. 7). As in the previous case, when this quality is triumphant, the other two are subdued. It produces a ceaseless tendency to activity (xiv. 12). It occupies a middle position between the other two *Guṇas* ; *i.e.*, it is higher than *Tamas* and lower than *Sattva* (xiv. 18).

A man in whom this *Guṇa* is strong, usually worships *Yakṣas*, and *Rākṣasas*, *i.e.*, beings inferior to the gods (xvii. 4). His food will be marked by strong taste-qualities, *i.e.*, will be excessively bitter, or sour, or salt, or pungent (xvii. 9). His actions will be marked by a desire for pomp and display (xvii. 12). In making a gift, he will expect a return or some other happy consequence (xvii. 21).

Such a man's knowledge is marked by a sense of plurality and diversity (xviii. 21). As an agent, he is moved by strong desires, is bent on achieving some purpose, is jealous and impure in mind, is a victim of joy and sorrow, and his actions are marked by an egotism and are pompous and showy (xviii, 24, 27). His intelligence is characterised by a mistaken knowledge of duty (xviii. 31). Even his conception of happiness is vitiated by this quality of his character.

(*iii*) *Tamas* is the product of ignorance, has a stupefying effect on the mind, and is the source of error, indolence and drowsiness (xiv. 8). It always tends to error (xiv. 9). It has a downward tendency, and is marked by squalor and stupidity (xiv. 17, 18).

A man in whom this *Guṇa* is dominant, will have a predilection for ghosts and hobgoblins as objects of worship (xvii. 4). And his food, too, as in the other two cases, will betray his character. He will be fond of stale, dried and stinking food—food which is impure—and he will even like the remnants of another's dishes (xvii. 10). His religious performances similarly will be characterised by an irregularity and lack of earnestness and true devotion (xvii. 13). He will always make a wrong gift at the wrong time (xvii. 22).

Such a man's knowledge is meagre ; it is marked by crudity and confusion between cause and effect (xviii. 22). As an agent, he is without application, is a commonplace man, stupid, crooked, presumptuous, indolent, miserable and procrastinating, and his actions are marked by stupidity and cruelty (xviii. 25, 28). Such a man's intelligence is only a mass of chaos and confusion. He knows everything upside down (xviii. 32).

We should bear in mind that this characterisation of the *Guṇas*, is not a special doctrine of the *Gītā* alone ; it is a general Sāṇkhya doctrine and has been accepted by writers of the School generally (*cf*. Sāṇkhya-Kārikā, 12, 13) of whom the author of the *Gītā* is obviously one.

It will appear from the above that the three *Guṇas* symbolise three well-marked types of character, and they exhibit themselves throughout in a man's thought, feeling and activity. His conception of the world, his religious attitude, the food that he takes and the objects that he worships—all betray the sort of man that he is. The *Guṇas* are the essential elements out of which the entire composite structure of man's life is built. They can be arranged in an order of merit: *Sattva* is above the other two; *Rajas* is in the middle: and *Tamas* is at the bottom. *Sattva* stands for the purest intellect, the highest type of character and the noblest and wisest man. *Rajas* typifies a grasping, greedy temperament, full of the possessive instinct and bent on self-exhibition and display. And lastly, *Tamas* stands for the lowest grade of mental and spiritual development and is characterised by stupidity and intellectual darkness and a preponderance of the lower animal instincts.

It is interesting to note that Plato uses almost the identical conceptions in his *Republic* when he speaks of the three elements of the soul (439-441 and 580-581). The rational (λογιστικον) part of the soul according to him very well corresponds to the *Sattva*, the irrational (or αλογιστικον) element of the soul corresponds to the *Tamas*, and his spirit (or θυμος) has been characterised in the same way as the *Rajas* of the *Gitā*. The three classes of men or types of character according to him, *viz.*, wisdom-loving, strife-loving and gain-loving (φιλοσοφον, φιλονικον, and φιλοκερδες) correspond exactly to the types described in the *Gitā* according to *Sattva, Rajas* and *Tamas*. And like the *Gitā*, he not only derives three types of character according to the preponderance of one or other of the three elements of the soul, but he proceeds further and even thinks of three kinds of pleasure according to the selfsame elements (581c). And it is remarkable that he even uses (584d) the expressions 'Above,' 'Below' and 'Intermediate' (το ανω, το κατω, το μεσον) with regard to these elements of soul, which the *Gitā* also characteristically calls '*ūrddhva*,' '*Adhah*' and '*Madhya*'—words which mean exactly the same thing as Plato's terms given above. Besides, the description given by Plato of the three kinds of character agrees remarkably with that of the *Gitā* (586-587).

We should not forget here that the *Guṇas*, strictly speaking, are not inherent in the soul according to the Sāṇkhya school. *Puruṣa* or soul, according to this school, is not qualified by any of the *Guṇas* which belong only to the *Prakṛti* or the material principle in nature. *Puruṣa* happens to be affected by them only when, through *ajñāna* or ignorance, it is enslaved by matter. The soul has the characteristics of the *Guṇas* only so long as the material principle encircles it, *i.e.*, so long as it is in the body. And the highest moral endeavour for the soul is of course to try to be free from and to go beyond the reach of the *Guṇas* and thus be entirely pure. The classification of character as given above is valid only so long as the soul is not in its purest essence, that is, not entirely free from contamination by the material principle.

It is to be noted that in this view of the nature of the soul also, Plato agrees with the author of the *Gitā*. For Plato, too, the lower elements of the soul are not strictly speaking essential to it and happen to be there only because of its connection with the body. In any case, apart from metaphysical consideration, so far as man is in flesh and blood, he must have a preponderance of one or other of the above *Guṇas* or elements of soul and will develop a character accordingly. It is needless to point out that the classification of men and types of character applies to living men only and not to pure spirits.

The types of character discussed above ultimately give rise to the conception of corresponding classes of men in the state according to Plato and to corresponding castes according to the *Gitā*. The number of classes or castes is not just the same as that of the *Guṇas* or elements of soul. These latter are three in number, whereas there are four principal classes or castes, and more are possible by an intermixture of these. But according to both the author of the *Gitā* as well as Plato, the highest class would represent the highest *Guṇa* and the lowest, the lowest. And the intermediate classes would have an admixture of *Guṇas* of which one or other would preponderate and thus determine its place in the scale of the classes.

After giving an account of the *Guṇas* and their manifestations, the *Gitā* lays down the important principle that there is no living creature in nature which is not subject to one or other of these *Guṇas*; and that the four castes—Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra—are but division of mankind according to the preponderance of one or other of these qualities (xviii. 41). Thus, a Brāhmaṇa is characterised by self-restraint, sedateness, an austere life, purity, charity, simplicity, knowledge, wisdom and faith. A Kṣatriya has courage, pushfulness, endurance, dexterity and steadfastness in battle, power to make gifts and a lordliness of temperament. A Vaiśya engages in agriculture, cattle-keeping and commerce; whereas a Śūdra's natural occupation is to be servant to the others. *Sattva* or the highest element prevails in a Brāhmaṇa, *Rajas* or the second element is preponderant in a Kṣatriya, *Tamas* or the lowest element characterises the Śūdra, and the third class or Vaiśya obviously partakes of a mixture of the *Guṇas*.

We should not take too literally this catalogue of the specific qualities of the various castes. They are intended only as a general indication of their distinctive marks and should be understood as such. The way in which a true Brāhmaṇa is described not only in the *Gitā* but throughout practically the whole of Sanskrit literature, leaves little doubt in our mind that he was supposed to possess the virtue of wisdom in abundance. In fact, that was his distinctive characteristic. Knowledge is the highest thing (iv. 34) and all other elements of individuality are to be subordinated to it in his character. When a man has attained this knowledge, he will eat little, prefer solitude, control his desires, pass his time in meditation, etc., etc. (xviii. 52, *et seq.*).

Now it will be seen that the classes of men in the Ideal State according to Plato, correspond very strikingly with the classes in society according to the *Gitā*. The highest class—the class that should be the guardians of the State (φυλαξ πολεως) is to possess the virtue of being philosophical; and it is characterised in such a way that it bears a very close resemblance to the Brāhmaṇa of the *Gitā*. In 485-486, Plato attempts an enumeration of the qualities of the philosophic class. And what are these qualities? Almost the same as those of the Brāhmaṇa in the *Gitā*, *viz.*, love of learning, devotion to truth, avoidance of falsehood, temperance, etc.

It is true that the Brāhmaṇa of the *Gitā* was not supposed to be the ruler of the country: that task, according to the general conception of the Hindus, belonged to the Kṣatriya, though the Brāhmaṇa was always supposed to be his adviser. But neither was the philosopher according to Plato *actually* found to be the ruler of any country. Plato only *wished*—it was his *ideal*—that the philosopher should be entrusted with kingly power in States (473). They would have to be persuaded to accept that responsibility: they would never seek it. Plato was fully aware that men who are ordinarily called philosophers, are useless for their country. A true philosopher is not so easily found; and owing to various causes, philosophers are not held in high esteem (487, *et seq.*). A true philosopher, in the existing conditions of society, " keeps quiet and confines himself to his own concerns, like one who takes shelter behind a wall on a stormy day, when the wind is driving before it a hurricane of dust and rain; and when from his retreat he sees the infection of lawlessness spreading over the rest of mankind, he is well content, if he can in any way live his life here untainted in his own person by unrighteousness and unholy deeds, and, when the time for his release arrives, take his departure amid bright hopes with cheerfulness and serenity" (496).

Obviously, Plato's philosopher also, like the Brāhmaṇa of the *Gitā*, was not an actual ruler. But Plato felt it as a misfortune that States did not avail themselves of the wisdom of the philosophers. And he further felt that States should be persuaded to place themselves under the guidance of these men (501-2). Therein lay their salvation: this was Plato's political ideal. But whether actually endowed with kingly power or not, Plato's philosopher was not different in character and acquirements from the Brāhmaṇa of the *Gitā.* And his warrior class is little else than the Kṣatriya of the *Gitā.* Similarly, the agricultural and artisan classes closely resemble the Vaiśya and the Śūdra. The Śūdra was the lowest class according to the *Gitā* and typified *Tamas* or ignorance and stupidity. When one remembers Plato's contempt for the 'many' or the multitude, one cannot but feel that Plato had in his mind a type of mind which was an exact counterpart of the Indian Śūdra.

The resemblance between Plato's social classes and the castes according to the *Gita* is more than superficial. In Book iii (415), Plato says:

> "We shall tell our people, in mythical language: you are doubtless all brethren, as many as inhabit the city, but the God who created you mixed gold in the composition of such of you as are qualified to rule, which gives them the highest value; while in the auxiliaries (επικουροι) he made silver an ingredient, assigning iron and copper to the cultivators of the soil and other workmen. Therefore, in as much as you are all related to one another, although your children will generally resemble their parents, yet sometimes a golden parent will produce a silver child, and a silver parent a golden child, and so on, each producing any. The rulers, therefore, have received this in charge first and above all from the gods, to observe nothing more closely, in their character as vigilant guardians, than the children that are born, to see which of these metals enters into the composition of their souls; and if a child be born in their class with an alloy of copper or iron, they are to have no manner of pity upon it, but giving it the value that belongs to its nature, they are to thrust it away into the class of artisans or agriculturists; and if again among these a child be born with any admixture of gold or silver, when they have assayed it, they are to raise it either to the class of guardians or to that of auxiliaries: because, there is an oracle which declares that the city shall then perish when it is guarded by iron or copper."

Compare with this the well-known dictum of the *Gitā* where it is said that the four castes were made by God according to their aptitudes and capacities (iv. 13). The only difference between the Hindu conception and that of Plato is that the castes in Hinduism are rigid and unalterable and that it is not possible for a child born in one caste to go up to a higher caste, even though he may have the necessary qualifications ; while according to Plato such transfer from one caste to another is not only possible but must be made the rule. Yet it should be borne in mind that even in Hinduism castes were not always hereditary and that the above dictum of the *Gitā* has often been understood as implying a flexibility of caste and basing it always on *Guṇa* and *Karma*. On the other hand, Plato also bases his division on god-made distinctions which must not be overlooked and which no enthusiasm for democratic equality should be allowed to obliterate. Besides, Plato even lays down that a faith in this natural division must be generated in the minds of men by the system of education to be introduced in the ideal state. And when he says that the children will resemble their parents, he favours hereditary caste as a general rule, though he is not blind to the possibility of exceptions.

The *Gitā* says more than once, that each caste must follow its own appointed duty (ii. 31 ; iii. 35 ; xviii. 47). And it also says that for a man to pursue a line of conduct that does not naturally belong to him, is extremely dangerous. Does not Plato also mean the same thing when he says that there should be an oracle to tell the people of a city that they would perish if they were ruled by men with iron or copper constitution ?

In his simile of the pilot and the ship (488), also, does not Plato suggest that most of the troubles of states are due to confusion of functions ? If a man attempts to do what is not properly his function, he will mismanage it ; and the misgovernment of States is due to the fact that the task of government is usurped by men who are not qualified for it by nature. In other words, in the language of the *Gitā*, to pursue a course of conduct which is not one's '*Svadharmma*,'' is fraught with dangerous possibilities. And this term '*Svadharmma*' in the *Gitā*—though often wrongly understood as one's own *religion*, —means nothing but one's duties as member of a particular caste. The *Gitā* believed in different duties for the different castes (xviii. 42-44) and also thought that it was proper for each caste only to follow its own duties (xviii. 45). This was in brief the moral Ideal according to the *Gitā*.

Both Plato and the *Gitā* are thus found to agree in holding that there are certain natural distinctions between man and man, which must be carefully adhered to. Political ambition alone does not qualify a man to rule.. And there should be a system of social organisation by which each man should be directed to that kind of work for which he is specifically fitted by nature. Any disregard of this rule would mean confusion and mischief.

3. The *Gitā* (in viii. 24-26), speaks of the two paths of the soul for its journey after death. This is the Upaniṣadic doctrine of *Deva-yāna* and *Pitṛ-yāna* (*cf.* Ch. Up. v. 10. 3-5). The *Gitā* calls these the path of light and the path of darkness respectively. The one leads to eternal beatitude and the other to only a sojourn in the higher world and then a return to this. This idea of the soul's journey is not fully developed in the *Gitā*; it was part of the fabric of thought which the *Gitā* had inherited. Now, in Plato's myth of *Er*, do we not find a similar picture of the soul's travels after death and its return to this world after a sojourn in the other (614, *et seq.*)?

4. In 611, Plato suggests that the number of souls is constant—it can neither be less nor more than what it is. Since no soul can die, the number of souls cannot be decreased; and since what is mortal cannot become immortal, no new soul can come into existence out of what is not a soul now; and so the number of souls remains fixed. Now, this theory about the number of souls in the universe is a peculiar doctrine of the Sāṇkhya school also (*cf.* Sāṇkhya-kārika 18); and in the

Gitā (ch. ii. 20, *et seq.*) this theory of soul has been relied on.

It may be pointed out here that, in general, Plato's theory of soul and the assumption of corporeal existence by it, including the theory of transmigration (82-83), is so strikingly similar to the corresponding Hindu and Buddhist theories that one often feels tempted to think that, in this case, either Greece borrowed from India or India from Greece, or perhaps both from a third common source.

There is another point which may be noted here in passing, though, strictly speaking, it is not relevant to a consideration of the *Republic.* In the *Gitā* (iv. 5), it is not only said that each of us has had many more births previous to this, but the possibility is also suggested that, with a certain amount of spiritual discipline, one may even recollect them. This also is a doctrine of the Sāṇkhya-Yoga school where it is more fully treated. Do we not find a similar doctrine in Plato's theory of knowledge, namely, that knowledge is but *anamnesis* or reminiscence ?

In 508, with reference to the visual perception of things, Plato says : " To whom, then, of the gods in heaven can you refer as the author and dispenser of this blessing ? And whose light is it that enables our sight to see so excellently well and makes visible objects appear ? " And the answer is of course that it is the sun. The sun as a *god* in nature and the eyes as organs of vision in the body must co-operate in order that vision may be possible. If we could generalise a theory of perception from this, we would arrive at the proposition that the function of each of the senses is conditioned by the function of a corresponding god in nature. Now, this will give us the Upaniṣadic doctrine, developed in various ways and several places, *viz.*, that the senses in the body are all presided over by some deity or other of the outside world and that their functions are but the functions of those deities (Br. Up. i. 3 ; Ait. ii ; etc.).

The *Gitā* has little occasion to dwell upon this theory. But it may be presumed to have known it; and as it has admittedly drawn upon the Upaniṣadic systems as much as upon the Sāṇkhya-Yoga systems of thought, and as it has steadily maintained the Upaniṣadic view of gods, this theory of perception cannot at all be regarded as foreign to it.

The most essential thing in this theory is that, according to it, the co-operation of a *god* is necessary in order that a sense-organ may function. That the eye cannot see without light and that the sun is a source of light, is a fact for modern men also. But for us, the sun is not a *god* and the light that he sheds is not a divine agency. For Plato and the *Gitā*, however, the sun *was* a god and so were many other things in nature which we regard merely as lifeless objects.

This Platonic conception of nature as a divine presence subsequently influenced the English poet Wordsworth and several others. But it is remarkable that Plato was not alone in this. The author of the *Gitā* also, and for the matter of that, the whole of Vedic and post-Vedic thought in India, regarded nature not as modern science regards it, but throughout as an animated reality. These thinkers thought and spoke of the objects of nature—the sun, moon, and stars,—as so many divinities. It was not a relic of crude, barbaric mythology that they cherished; it was part of their philosophy of nature. The vast expanse of space with the glowing orbs in heaven and the apparently lifeless objects on earth, constituted for them but one limitless spiritual presence which encircled the speck of human existence. The unity of this spirit was a conception which was attained only gradually. Originally the world was conceived as peopled by a plurality of gods; and it was later that this plurality was subsumed under a higher unity. But even when this unity was reached, it was a unity in plurality, and not a mere negation of plurality. And the many gods were but manifestations of one Supreme Divinity. It was not a mere poetic personification of impersonal objects, but a profound philosophical conviction about the nature of reality.

And in this view of the nature of reality, Plato and the thinkers of India remarkably agreed.

In 499, while discussing the possibility of the realisation of the Ideal State, Plato says :

> " If, then, persons of first-rate philosophical attainments, either in the countless ages that are past have been, or in some *foreign clime*, far beyond the limits of our horizon, at the present moment are, or hereafter shall be, constrained by some fate to undertake the charge of a state, I am prepared to argue to the death in defence of this assertion that the constitution described has existed, does exist, yea and will exist, wherever the Muse aforesaid has become mistress of a state."

Now, what is this *foreign clime*—the βαρβαρικος τοπος—where Plato imagines the ideal state may have been realised?

We have no reason to think that Plato is here referring to India—he does not mention India by name. But was he aware that some of the conceptions that he embodies in the *Republic*, *i.e.*, his Ideal State, had travelled to him from foreign sources? If not, is it not rather striking that with all his consciousness of Hellenic superiority, he should consider it possible that some *barbaric* country might have realised the ideal state which was not attained by the Greeks?

We have discussed some of the leading similarities between the Platonic ideal of state and the teachings of the Gita. We should note here some of the important differences also.

(*i*) The most striking difference is the highly developed political consciousness of the Greek thinker, which is wanting in the author of the *Gitā*. The author of the *Gitā* also believed in an ideal harmony of the classes in society and the consequent happiness of man ; but it is open to question if this ideal happiness is the same thing as Plato's ethico-political justice. The author of the *Gitā* would say that if each man followed his appointed caste-duties, he would be virtuous and therefore happy ; and if all in society were happy, there would be a general happiness. But attention is concentrated here more or less on the individual, and the whole is supposed to fare well wn the individuals are faring well. In other words, the Hindu thinker was more individualistic than the philosopher of Greece.

In Chapter I. 36-45, the *Gitā* says that a war against one's own relations is always suicidal and leads to a dislocation of social life ; but the whole discussion there proceeds on ethico-religious lines and does not exhibit much of political consciousness. It is said, for instance, that the destruction of one's kith and kin leads to the breaking up of natural ties and this may eventually destroy the specific virtues of a tribe (*kula-dharma*) and so lead on to other vices, and thus to eternal perdition. Nothing is said about the destruction of the *state* ; or, what is said here can hardly be understood as implying any reference to the political existence of man and to a political organisation.

Plato, on the other hand, conceived an organic unity of the state which was rarely, if ever, reached by the Indian mind. According to Plato

> "That city, then, is best conducted in which the largest proportion of citizens apply the words 'mine' and 'not mine' similarly to the same objects." "Or, in other words, that city which comes nearest to the condition of an individual man. Thus, when one of our fingers is hurt, the whole fellowship that spreads through the body up to the soul, and there forms an organised unity under the governing principle, is sensible of the hurt, and there is a universal and simultaneous feeling of pain in sympathy with the wounded part ; and therefore we say that the *man* has a pain in his finger ; and in speaking of any part of our frame whatsoever, the same account may be given of the pain felt when it suffers, and the pleasure felt when it is easy" (462).

This is a conception of the organic unity of the state, which it is difficult to discover anywhere in the *Gitā*—or, for the matter of that, anywhere in Hindu thought. Underlying the theory of castes and the division of their duties, perhaps, there was a subdued belief in the ultimate unity of the social fabric; but this belief *as* a political ideal has hardly ever been fully developed in Hindu thought. And that it was not attained in speculative thought, was possibly due to the fact that it was not attempted in actual life.

(*ii*) In order that this universal feeling of own-ness may be generated in each mind, with reference to everything in the state, Plato advocated the abolition of private property and the establishment of a community of wives. But these ideas do not appear to have entered the Hindu mind at all. The latter conception, *viz.*, that of the community of wives, is perhaps a corollary of the former; for, as has been often said, in our idea of a wife, the sense of property also is present; and so, the abolition of property would logically involve the abolition of marriage also.

The Hindu conception of property, though quite potent in law, does not appear to have received much philosophic attention. Perhaps because our philosophers were men without much property. But though they were often men also without a wife, still, the purity and chastity of woman received considerable attention in Hindu thought; and the idea of the community of women would be thoroughly repugnant to Hindu taste.

The *Mahābhārata*, of which the *Gitā* is part, describes a war between two rival branches of the same family; and among other things, the *Gitā* enters upon a discussion about the merits of such a war. The most powerful argument used against such a war by Arjjuna in the *Gitā* (ch. i.), is that it was a war against one's own family and might lead to the annihilation of the tribe. When the male members of a society were so extirpated, vice and corruption were bound to prevail. The women would be vicious; and the result then would be the birth of illegitimate children and the production of mixed castes and the whole social fabric would be threatened. The feminine virtues are very much stressed here; and the Hindu mind, obviously, could not reconcile itself to the disruption of the stable relations of the sexes which Plato's community of wives would involve. The *Gitā* had an opportunity here of suggesting some such theory of marriage as Plato did ; but it did not. And though other justification of the war, is eventually found, the danger to sexual morals is tacitly recognised. This shows a difference in the mental constitution between the thinker of Greece and of India.

(*iii*) With a view to the production of the right class of rulers and the ruled, Plato had his own scheme of education. But as the author of the *Gitā* had no political ideal to realise, he had no scheme of secular education either. He certainly believed in a spiritual discipline which he characteristically calls '*yoga*' ; but beyond this preparation for a higher spiritual life, no other scheme of education mattered for him. And for this very reason, Plato's educational scheme—gymnastic for the body and music for the soul—found no echo in his mind.

In his diatribe against poetry and the poets, also, Plato stands by himself. The author of the *Gitā* had his poetry and poets in the Vedas and their authors, just as Plato had his in Homer and Hesiod ; and the *Gitā* had some unpleasant things to say about the Vedas also (ii. 42-45). But it had not had the need for that comprehensive criticism of poetry and poets which Plato undertook in the *Republic*.

(*iv*) To his theory of Ideas, also, Plato had no parallel in the *Gitā*. The *Gitā* also believed in two orders of things—one destructible and the other indestructible (ii. 16-18) ; the body, for instance, and other material things of the world, were subject to decay and dissolution, while the spirit was indestructible. But the *Gitā* has never said that every object in nature—a table, a man, or a star—is but a copy or ectype of a corresponding reality, a prototype, which is immutable and eternal.

(*v*) As a consequence of his superior political consciousness, Plato developed a theory of social and political justice which also as such is not found in the *Gitā*.

But in spite of these important differences, the similarities that are there appear to us sufficiently striking to deserve attention. Though with a somewhat different purpose, Plato intended to bring about the same social organisation that was real and valid for the author of the *Gitā*. The same classes of men and the classification of men on identical grounds, were accepted by both of them. For the author of the *Gitā*, it was not an unrealised ideal only, but part of the actual ordering of the world : Plato, however, wanted it as the condition precedent for the realisation of highest justice. This no doubt was a difference. But yet what was the ultimate order of things on which both fixed their gaze ? It was the same ordering of men in society—the same division into castes, if you please, and a division based on the same reasons—that both Plato and the author of the *Gitā* accepted as ultimately real. It was valid for Plato, for it was the ideal, and, therefore, more real than the actual ; and it was valid for the author of the *Gitā*, because it was divinely ordered and was actually a part of the scheme of the world ; and the moral ideal that the *Gitā* inculcated, was based upon a recognition of the fact that there was this order of things. Now, when two philosophers look upon the same social organisation as ultimately desirable and valid, the similarity is much too real to be allowed to be obscured by dissimilarities in other respects.

It is not the purpose of this comparison to suggest that there was borrowing either way. That is a question of history which history alone can solve. Mere similarity in thought is not a proof that one philosopher borrowed from another. This comparison is instituted only to shew that there is an aspect of Plato's philosophy which European expositors of his system have never recognised, owing no doubt to their ignorance of Hindu thought. When a Hindu student knows how much of his country's thought found expression in Plato's philosophy, he must feel a much keener interest in this the greatest philosopher of Greece and certainly one of the greatest for all times to come.

UMESHCHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, BART., TO AURANGZIB.

(*Conclusion.*)

Readers of the previous articles in this magazine on the mission of Sir William Norris may possibly find it difficult to feel assured that he was entirely fitted for the responsibilities entrusted to him jointly by King William III and the New English East India Company. He was a man of recognised standing by family right, possessed of considerable Parliamentary experience, and endowed with personal qualifications suitable to the position to which he was summoned. But for certain adverse circumstances which could not be laid to his charge his mission would have proved in all probability a brilliant success, and the comparative failure, of which he was rather the victim than the contributory, excites a movement of sympathy with his disappointment and not of censure for his proceedings.

No doubt the decision to send an Ambassador to the Great Mogul was dictated to the Directors of the New Company by their desire to advance its trading interests in India. The history of the mission already related shows that Sir William's dual responsibility produced serious difficulties. He was not merely the King's representative charged with the general interests of his countrymen in India, but the paid agent of a new trading company engaged in efforts to supplant an old company in its possession of privileges enjoyed for nearly a century. The Old Company intended to die hard, if die it must. Thus its representatives acted as traders first and Englishmen afterwards. Matters were further complicated by the political situation in England and in Europe generally. The Old Company was Jacobite in sentiment and sympathy, while the New Company owed its origin and existence to

William, Prince of Orange, who now sat on the throne of the exiled Stuarts. Thus there was political acerbity as well as trade jealousy between them. Members of the Old Company were not misled by Sir William's role of Ambassador and they planned to send a representative of their own. This was Dr. Davenant, whose task was to be to act against the New Company and, if possible, prevent the Ambassador's success. The project was, however, as we have seen, ultimately dropped.

In spite of hindrances from the Old Company, Sir William was able to leave England on his mission to India. His ship was one of a small squadron of four whose ultimate object was to stamp out piracy in the Indian Seas and thus remove a principal grievance entertained by the Mogul against the English. Pirates had been active since the conclusion of peace. Moslem pilgrims to and from Mecca had suffered much at their hands and many Indian merchantmen laden with rich cargoes had been taken. The Emperor was naturally irate and blamed the English because the offenders in general used the English flag. To ensure even a reasonable chance of success for the Embassy it was obvious that something must be done to mollify the Emperor and clear the English name. In his letter to the Mogul King William promised to deal with the pirates, the accompanying squadron being intended as an earnest of his sincerity.

Among the qualities required in an Ambassador is a power of accurate observation. He must, as it were, see everything and be able to draw just conclusions therefrom. Sir William gave early evidence of this power in those descriptions he sent home of the Portuguese settlements in Madeira and the Cape de Verde Islands. These compare very favourably with those or other observant travellers.

When the expedition reached Madagascar and it was learnt that Captain Kidd, the notorious pirate, had gone to the West Indies to dispose of his plunder, the need of a keen further outlook on the part of the squadron disappeared. Sir William, therefore, in accordance with the Company's instruction requested the Commodore to sail for Porto Novo on the Coast of Coromandel. Thence he sailed for Masulipatam and on the way thither passed Fort St. George where he had his first taste of the Old Company's hostility in the chilly reception offered by its representative there. He appears to have selected Masulipatam as his place of landing because of its comparative nearness to Bijapur, where the Mogul was said to be encamped. The latter, however, had then no fixed place of residence owing to the exigency of his various military operations against the Mahrathas. Probably the Directors at home, unable to foresee where the Mogul might be on Sir William's arrival, thought the East Coast would be as convenient as the West for the object in view. Events proved that the choice was a mistake. Masulipatam was far from the Emperor's camp, thus communications were tedious and slow. It was also inconvenient for the procuring of both men and animals for the intended journey.

The Ambassador having landed, the squadron within a few days took its departure with the purpose of now dealing effectively with the prevalent piracy. In this there was little success, although the squadron continued to patrol the Indian seas till 1701, when they returned to England without having made any impression either on the pirates or the Mogul's mind. It is a pity some prophetic instinct did not reveal to Sir William that his best and most prudent course would be to sail with it.

Surat would have been from most points of view a more convenient landing place than Masulipatam. But the latter presented one advantage which may here be mentioned for what it was worth. At Surat the New Company had as yet no resident head, as Sir Nicholas Waite did not arrive till January 19, 1699-1700. On the other hand their agent at Masulipatam, to whom the King had given cousular rank, had arrived a few weeks before Sir William himself, and was able to arrange a fitting reception for him. This was perhaps the only advantage derived from the choice of Masulipatam rather than Surat.

The Consul, Pitt, almost from the moment of his landing at Masulipatam, had found himself beset with difficulties. He had given immediate notification of his Consular position to the Mogul Governor and requested a *perwanah* to be free from the payment of customs till a *phirmaund* should be obtained. He had also summoned the factors of the Old Company to pay their respects to him as Consul. He had, in addition, notified his Consular character to Thomas Pitt, his cousin, then serving as President for the Old Company. But in practically every quarter he met with coolness and even repudiation of his authority. It was plain that the agents and other representatives of the Old Company were inspired to their opposition by the Directors at home who left no stone unturned to injure their new rivals.

These circumstances were, of course, made known to Sir William, who nevertheless maintained a hopeful mood. A certain warmth displayed by the Mogul Governor in his reception appears to have made a favourable impression. This apparently was before the formal landing and he wrote at once to inform the authorities in England of it. He was plainly oversanguine and appears by his undue optimism to have given a false impression in London. There his message must have been read as signifying that all was to be plain sailing for the Embassy and that satisfactory results might speedily be expected. Subsequent events were destined to falsify these high hopes.

Norris immediately notified the Mogul of his arrival in the capacity of Ambassador from the King of England, charged to promote trade and good relations, and requested the *dusticks* or passports necessary that he might travel in safety to the Imperial camp. He was not many weeks in Masulipatam before he discovered the absolute need of a golden key to the attainment of his objects. He writes : "I find the whole contrivance in the Kingdom from the Highest to the lowest is to squeeze out of everybody as much as they can and so that they get anything care not how scandalously they come by it.'' His final conclusion was that a large present will be necessary as the only way of gaining ''either favour or justice in this Government.'' It was plain that the presents with which he had come provided were insufficient and the funds at his disposal inadequate. Having persuaded himself that the only means of obtaining a successful issue for his mission was by bribery he entered into the spirit of the game and decided to use it right royally. He neglected, however, to take careful stock of the limited means at his disposal, believing, no doubt, that he had but to ask to have them replenished.

The opposition of the agents of the Old Company had been, of course, foreseen, but Sir William confidently expected his ambassadorial rank to awe them from the adoption of extreme measures. Many of them, however, were determined men and among these Thomas Pitt of Fort St. George was not the least. Pitt spread the story that Sir William was the agent of a mere company rather than the King's Ambassador and his tale found credit with many of the Mogul officials. He and the others backed their representations with presents and employed regular agents to bribe any at Court who would undertake to oppose Sir William's requests when they should come before the Emperor. Pitt had declined to accord a salute to Sir William at Fort St. George and thereafter studiously disregarded the Embassy. Minor agents of the Old Company spied upon the Ambassador's movements, gave him inaccurate and misleading information, and endeavoured finally to shake his confidence in those around him. In the latter efforts they had some success, for Sir William began to suspect treachery, dismissed many of his Indian suit, and even went so far as to quarrel with Consul John Pitt, his own colleagues, whom he reported to the Court of Directors. His suspicions were to the effect that John Pitt had been bribed to delay his departure from Masulipatam. They appear to have had no foundation and it does not seem even probable that Pitt had been in any way influenced by his cousin Thomas. These cousins have been justly summarised by John Bruce as follows :

> " The characters of the London Company's President, Thomas Pitt, and the English Company's Consul, John Pitt, were equally marked by zeal in the services of their employers, but distinguished by the former possessing prudence, as well as firmness, and the latter, spirit, unguided by discretion; both, however, were unfit for temporizing or conciliatory measures..."

Sir Wllliam's dealings with Consul Pitt and others show that he was deficient in the patience and tact necessary in an Ambassador.

Discouraged by these untoward circumstances and having no experienced person at hand on whose counsel he might rely, Sir William resolved in the spring of 1700 to trasport himself and the Embassy to Surat. The monsoon, however, prevented ships from being available and thus, much against his own wishes, he had to wait for more favourable circumstances. Although the date of departure could not be fixed the decision was definitely made. But procrastination on the part of the Mogul officials in sending *dusticks* and arranging for necessary supplies and transport, as well as the physical difficulties of the journey and removal of the Imperial Camp to a still greater distance, combined to make an early start impossible.

No one outside of Masulipatam ever regarded it as a suitable starting point for the Mogul Camp. Indeed, its unsuitability was so obvious that it is difficult to understand how anyone could have suggested it. Now, the Surat Council, desiring apparently to exonerate themselves from blame, wrote encouraging him to come and declaring that his preparations for the journey to the Mogul's Camp might there be made with advantage. At that moment Sir William had been nine months at Masulipatam and almost six more were to pass before his arrival at Surat. In this way more than a year was wasted attended with great expense for which there could be no return.

We need not dwell on the vexations endured by the

Ambassador before he left Masulipatam. He doubted the loyalty of Pitt, his colleague, quarrelled with the Council, and complained of their rudeness when instead they ought to have been his principal supporters. Passing Fort St. George there was again no salute which Sir William, who greatly magnified his office, took sorely to heart.

The Embassy arrived at Surat after a four months' voyage. In one respect the change brought no improvement as the Mogul officials had to be bribed and that on a scale still higher than at Masulipatam. Sir William had been much gratified by his reception at which the Governor and his son were present, but his feelings may be imagined when he learnt that their presence had only been secured by a considerable bribe. Indeed, his state entry would have been otherwise impossible as the Old Company's agents had done everything they could to prevent it.

Surat was nearer the Mogul Camp, yet it was also the centre of Mogul grievances. These related to the unpaid debts of the Old Company and the prevalence of piracy. The former was more or less a local grievance while the latter held a foremost place in the mind of the Emperor. He had no naval power to deal with the pirates and secure the safety of ships *en route* to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Europeans alone would help in such matters and as they were suppliants for *phirmaunds* the Mogul was not blind to the opportunity thus presented of securing a *quid pro quo*. The Governor stated that the Emperor had sent orders to expedite Sir William's journey as he was "very old and desirous of seeing him before he dyd." This was apparently true as there was no further delay in providing the necessary *dusticks* and arranging for the journey. At first Sir Nicholas Waite seems to have done his best to further matters. He and his Council supplied valuable information regarding the Mogul's ministers, their attitude towards the rival Companies and the line that might be most advantageously followed at Court by Sir William.

These throw a good deal of light on Waite's tact as well as his insight into Court intricacies. Much difficulty was felt in deciding, on the concessions to be asked from the Emperor and the minimum that ought to be accepted. The depleted state of the New Company's treasury and the heavy outlay already incurred made the provision of adequate funds a special anxiety. Ultimately considerable supplies were forthcoming, to be used for bribes and presents and these might have proved sufficient had not the Old Company sent agents authorised to bribe still more heavily.

The Ambassador's principal annoyance at Surat arose from the hostile attitude persistently maintained by the Old Company's President and factors. These steadily refused to recognise him and gave out to the Mogul authorities that he was not King's Ambassador but merely the representative of a Company of merchants. He learnt further that Sir John Gayer, Governor of Bombay, but at that time in Surat, had been expressing Jacobite sentiments and speaking of "the true King in France." It would appear that Gayer had allowed his zeal for the Old Company to influence him so greatly that he did everything possible to thwart the Embassy. He even sent an Armenian Vakil to intrigue against it at court, although he was perfectly aware that it had the authority of the Crown. It seems plain therefore that his Surat sympathies were at work. Against all this, of course, Sir Nicholas Waite protested, but he appears to have used high-handed measures which roused the resentment not only of the Old Company's repesentatives, but also of the Mogul Governor himself. Altogether it was most unfortunate for trade expansion in India that the rivalry between the Companies should have become so prominent. The Emperor maintained an elaborate secret service and thus knew everything that was happening in his realms, and was not slow to exploit for his own advantage the mutual hostility the companies displayed.

At home the New Company, now falling in public estimation, were realising that neither threats nor violence could intimidate officials of the Old Company. Consequently, they moderated the instructions sent to their agents and servants in India. On learning of events at Surat and on the Coromandel Coast the Directors expressed regret at the animosity that had been allowed to develop and gave instructions that efforts should be confined to the task of securing trade success. The Government also now made an effort to have the Companies united and accordingly, as a result of pressure, both held Courts to consider the matter of union. Feelings of rivalry were, however, still too keen and the attempt was for the time being abandoned. Owing to the slowness of communication events in India moved forward with an independence of their own. The Court of Directors might instruct but before instructions could reach India the situation to which they were meant to apply had changed. There could only be the most attenuated co-ordinations between the Directors at home and the men in India. Still less could Directors' Courts control or influence the policy and doings of the Mogul himself and his ministers.

Sir Nicholas Waite was no doubt a dismissed servant of the Old Company and certain writers including Hedges have described him as "intemperate and unscrupulous," nevertheless he was perfectly justified in resisting the Old Company's designs against the Embassy. As already mentioned, European pirates, including the notorious Captain Kidd, had been busy in the Indian seas. And naturally the Mogul had become greatly incensed by injuries done to the commerce of his subjects and more particularly by the despoiling of pilgrim ships bound for Mecca inasmuch as thereby sacrilege was added to robbery. The European merchants at Surat, including the Old Company's agents, had in consequence been compelled to give a bond indemnifying those who had suffered. This bond had been given about the time Sir William had sailed for England. The payment of compensation had been, however, resisted with the result that

Sir John Gayer and the Old Company's servants were confined for some years to their factory with occasional intervals of liberty. Sir Nicholas Waite after his arrival at Surat made common cause with their persecutors and endeavoured to bring home charges of piracy to the Old Company's ships. In these activities, however, the Ambassador, anxious to be strictly impartial, took no part.

The English Company, being newcomers, were not at first directly concerned in this matter of the security of the seas and compensation for failure to afford it. But the Home Government by sending men-of-war to suppress the piracy practically acknowledged responsibility. The Mogul therefore, quite naturally, expected the new Company to take part with the older trading bodies in the same undertaking. Thus when the New Company opened negotiations with him, he insisted chiefly on this matter of maritime security together with the debt owing to his subjects by the Company. No doubt, as a sovereign concerned for the interests of his subjects, the Mogul had some justification for his demands. But the New Company had no connection with, or responsibility for, the piracies, and therefore Sir William emphatically resisted them. Unfortunately he found his hands already partially tied by a premature act on the part of Sir Nicholas Waite. The latter had, on arriving at Surat and without consulting Sir William who was then at Masulipatam, written to the Mogul asking various privileges for the New Company. At the same time he had rashly promised to give security for the seas on condition of receiving a separate *phirmaund* for his own factory at Surat. In reporting to Sir William he did not mention this promise, so the Ambassador was for some time ignorant of it.

Another and serious difficulty now came from England and arrived when Sir William was on his way to the Imperial Court. As already noted, the New Company had the support of both King and Government and it had been proclaimed in India that the Old Company would cease to exist in September, 1701.

Now, however, came news that the latter had been granted perpetuity by Act of Parliament. The immediate effects were that the Mogul's ministers were puzzled to distinguish between the Companies and the credit of the Embassy was greatly lowered, inasmuch as Sir William had confidently foretold the speedy demise of the Old Company. He and the New Company's agents being therefore apparently proved false what further reliance could be placed on them? Mr. P. E. Roberts truly remarks : "the distinction between the two Companies was a Western subtlety not likely to be appreciated by Eastern minds."

The Embassy arrived at the Imperial camp when it was situated a short distance from Parnella, and Sir William was allowed to pitch his tents within the limits of the *Leskar*. He had scarcely been established there before he discovered that his task was to be a difficult, expensive and ungrateful one. On being received by the Emperor he requested that *phirmaunds* be granted for each of the Presidencies of Surat, Masulipatam, and Hooghly, with exemption from the bond for security of the seas. There was at first a favourable reception given to these requests and Sir William apparently had every reason for satisfaction. Aurangzib was particularly gracious. He listened attentively to the reading and translation of King William's letters and examined the presents with the utmost care, displaying special interest in such articles as were new to him. As a proof of his favour he chose personally a specially rich *serpaw* with which Sir William was invested.

It may be noted here that this was not by any means the first foreign embassy received by Aurangzib. Bernier gives interesting details of others and the manner of their reception. Early in his reign there had come Tartar envoys from Usbec, a Dutch Ambassador, one Mynheer Dirk Van Adrechem, and diplomatic representatives from Ethiopia. All had been well received and dismissed with honour. The Tartar envoys made their obeisances to the Emperor according to the Indian fashion ;

the Dutch Ambassador was allowed to salute both after the Indian and European custom, while the letters they brought were in each case received by an Amir. To an Ambassador from the Shah of Persia had been accorded the special distinction of being allowed to pay his respects to the Emperor in the fashion of his own country and to deliver his letter to the Emperor in person. He had also been given a seat among the chief Umaras. Sir William Norris was also permitted to pay his respects after the manner of his own country. But although he was given a seat among the chief noblemen he was not received with quite the same distinction as the Persian Ambassador had been. The reason was that the Mogul did not consider the representative of any European monarch quite the equal of one from the Shah or the Sultan of Turkey, doubtless because he was not a true believer. Nevertheless, in Sir William's belief, no embassy had ever before received at the Mogul Court so flattering a reception as his. Nor had any ever made a deeper impression by its pomp and magnificence. It is curious and a little disappointing that Sir William never apparently recorded his impressions of the Emperor's appearance nor of the spectacle offered by his court. He appears, however, after this *Durbar* to have nourished high hopes that if only funds should be forthcoming to satisfy the greed of the officials success for his mission was assured.

After the *Durbar* came serious business. The capture of Parnella, hastened, it would appear, by the use of cannon included in the Royal presents, put his Imperial Majesty in a good temper. But there followed delays which seriously alarmed the Ambassador. The Mogul was quite resolved to secure some tangible advantage in return for concessions to the Company and the one which most appealed to him was a guarantee for the safety of the Indian seas. In aiming at this he was acting as behoved an Indian Sovereign, anxious for the interests of his own subjects. If a comparison must be allowed, Aurangzib's motives were more praiseworthy than those of the English Company. The Imperial ministers assumed that Waite's undertaking would be fulfilled and when Sir William had to repudiate it the *phirmaunds* were held back. The Ambassador's patience came near exhaustion and he complained to Sir Nicholas Waite pointing out that his promise was now directly impeding progress and that the supplies of money from Surat were too scanty to meet the heavy charges of the Embassy. During this interval of delay he accompanied the Mogul on his marches and had three audiences accorded him.

Things had now come to such a pass that decision one way or another could hardly be longer postponed. It was agreed to present the Emperor with a lakh of rupees, a like sum to the minister in charge of the negotiations and proportional benefactions to several of his assistants. Most of those concerned were now again in a confident mood although it was said that the Emperor still held out for a pledge regarding the safety of the seas. Sir William had given a modified undertaking, which extended to Mocha, and felt fairly certain that success was at hand and that he would soon be able to sail for home. These hopes were, however, soon damped, because although drafted the *phirmaunds* remained unsigned. The negotiation became more critical when the Emperor was suddenly informed by a Derbish that the Old Company had not paid compensation for the piracies and the opinion began to spread that the New Company should accept this liability. There was further delay ; and the Mogul ordered the property and servants of the Old Company to be seized and its trade prohibited throughout his dominions. The competitive bribery of the two Companies now stirred in the minds of the Imperial ministers doubts as to which of them really represented the English nation. To clear away these doubts enquiry was made at Surat on behalf of the Emperor and again the competitive bribery of the Companies produced confusion of mind and delay. At this juncture several acts of piracy were reported and there followed further hesitation on the part of ministers about completing the *phirmaunds,* till it should be seen whether the Old Company would meet their alleged responsibilities. Meanwhile Sir William was chafing at the delay and growing anxious about his own position. The long-drawn-out negotiations were contrary to the expectations of the Company and their representatives in India. Sir William had already expended large sums in "gifts" and had promised still more on the completion of the *phirmaunds* ; but if every important concession was to be eliminated from them what value could they be? By this time he had come to realise that to remain longer at the Court would be useless. The Mogul continued to insist firmly on a guarantee for maritime security and Sir William was equally emphatic in his refusal. He maintained that already three European nations had undertaken responsibility and that his promise to pay the Emperor a lakh of rupees was contingent on the New Company being relieved of it. The Mogul who at first had shown himself friendly now appears to have grown as tired of the huckstering as Sir William himself. Nor was he less positive in expressing his own decision. He declared that if the Ambassador refused to undertake an obligation for security at sea he might return to England the way he came.

Thus the long-drawn-out mission ended in failure. The main sources of failure have already been emphasised and others, like the intrigues of his own countrymen, indicated. One can easily imagine how ironical was the laughter of the Old Company's agents when Sir William vainly tried to assert his authority. In some ways he is one of the most unhappy figures in the history of diplomacy. Circumstances forced him into an attitude antagonistic to many Englishmen in India although he had no personal feeling against them. It must be admitted that he was not an ideal Ambassador—he was somewhat tactless in dealing even with his own colleagues. His unfamiliarity with Indian customs and languages often betrayed him into what, having regard to his diplomatic character, can only be described as blunders. Sir Nicholas Waite, a man of much wider Indian experience, noticing his tendency to pomposity, warned him against insisting too much on punctilious observances from the Mogul's officers. In spite of that warning he allowed a mere point of etiquette to prevent him from making friends with the Vizier, Asad Khan. It is true, of course, that Thomas Pitt had tried, with probably some success, to secure Asad's interest for the Old Company ; but in the later stages of the Embassy Asad appears to have taken more interest in Sir William's efforts and even tried to get the business satisfactorily concluded. Nevertheless it is not easy to say how far he had forgiven Sir William's original attitude towards him. Yar Ali Beg stands out somewhat conspicuously from other officials for the loyal assistance he gave the Ambassador and the entire confidence the latter reposed in him. Ruhullah Khan, on the other hand, is a sinister figure, ever intriguing and causing intentional delay in the hope of receiving fresh bribes. Inayet Ulla Khan offers a contrast to both the preceding inasmuch as his interests were ever those of the Emperor, his master; and for his unimpeachable superiority to corruption.

The long duration of the mission contributed considerably to its ultimate failure, because it became thereby extremely expensive and a serious burden on the New Company's resources. It must be remembered that the Home Government contributed nothing for the support of its king's Ambassador. Sir William had to be continually demanding from his paymasters the means of giving " subsidies, " because he had to meet the Old Company's agents with their own weapons. Apart from that he was compelled to " gratify " many ministers and their secretaries. The more corrupt officials had every inducement to delay the business : for the longer negotiations could be spun out the more numerous would be the occasions for bribes. The factories did not and could not support Sir William in a manner commensurate with his expenses, which were enormously and unexpectedly increased by the long protracted negotiations. Indeed it is quite plain that he lacked both firmness and judgment in dealing with rapacious court officials. Manucchi observes that he

> "made a great show, and his expenses were extraordinary. No prince has ever been attended with greater pomp and ostentation, and in addition thereto his liberality was unbounded. He imagined that in this way he could push through his business more quickly. But he was quite ignorant of what the King's intentions were in regard to him. For, after all, the only thing he acquired was the nickname 'King of England,' given him by the common people in the army."

The Embassy did not arrive opportunely. The Emperor was growing old and his authority over ministers was waning. In addition he was engaged in conducting his campaign against the Mahrathas. His downfall was expected almost daily and his sons were hotly intriguing against each other for the succession. The Hindu chiefs, hitherto in subjection to him, had begun to watch for an opportunity of recovering their independence. It was believed that his death would be the signal for war and general chaos. The internal condition of the Empire is thus described by Mr. Sarkar:

> "The moral weakness of the empire was even greater than the material: the Government no longer commanded the awe of its subjects; the public servants had lost honesty and efficiency; ministers and princes alike lacked statesmanship and ability; the army broke down as an instrument of force. In letter after letter the aged Aurangzib mourns over the utter incapacity of his officers and sons and chastises them with his sharp pen, but in despair of a remedy."

Success would have been difficult even with a more experienced and tactful Ambassador. Sir William had to deal with much more difficult and complicated circumstances than his predecessor, Sir Thomas Roe, in the reign of James I, with whom a comparison seems natural and indeed inevitable. Both were typical products of their respective Universities. Roe was not quite so closely identified with Oxford as Norris was with

Cambridge. Roe was better equipped for his mission by intimate knowledge of Elizabeth's Court and by experience gained in foreign travel: Norris had neither of these. Sir Thomas went to India exclusively a Royal Ambassador; Sir William was the King's representative but he was also the agent of the New Company and the latter bore the charges of his mission. Sir Thomas Roe went out to ask privileges and an assured position for his nation, but the mission of Sir William Norris was to request privileges and rights for a new Corporation seeking to establish itself on the supersession of an old one. Roe had plenty of opposition from the Vizier, Asaf Khan; the Prince Kharrum; the Jesuits and the Dutch, who all obstructed him; but they were by no means such keen and indefatigable opponents as Sir William Norris had to contend with amongst his own countrymen and the Mogul's ministers. Roe succeeded largely because he conciliated Asaf Khan, and obtained the support of the Queen, Nurmahal; but Norris by want of foresight failed to attach genuinely to his cause Asad Khan, the Vizier of Aurangzib. The earlier Ambassador showed better judgment in bestowing presents than the latter one did. Of the two, Roe's character was the more sophisticated and he possessed the greater intuition. Roe had a personality that commended him to the Emperor Jehangir who was a man of liberal views. But apparently Norris never got past the surface with Aurangzib whom he found to be a stern bigot, every inch an Emperor, forbidding in manner and difficult to approach, save through ministers whom Sir William could never implicitly trust. Both men were impatient of slights and had alike a keen eye to material advantage. In Sir Thomas Roe were a high spirit, tenacity of purpose and a pride of race which did more to establish English prestige at the Mogul Court than any other envoy had done. Courageous and intrepid, the Orientals saw in him that *Justum et tenecem propositi Virum* conceived by the Roman poet. Any Ambassador who commanded respect as Roe did could never be considered a failure. Sir

William Norris was more self-important, pompous and undiplomatic than Roe. Of the tasks that fell to them Sir William's was much the heavier. Roe appears to have observed more shrewdly than Sir William as his description of the Court and of Mogul administration is more elaborate than that of the latter. His suggestions to the Court of Directors concerning their future policy were more statesmanlike than Sir William's to the Directors of the New Company. One final distinction between the two may be noted and its mention brings before us the sadness of the lot that befell the brave man whose task we have been tracing. Sir Thomas Roe lived to be rewarded for his labours but Sir William Norris was not destined to see his beloved country again and so could not in person lay his case before the King, his master.

When it became known that the Ambassador was resolved to take his departure and had asked for the necessary *dusticks* there was considerable dismay in the Camp. It was a new experience to find a great ruler taken at his word and many feared for its effect on the Emperor. The same vexatious delays that had attended the major negotiations were experienced in the granting of the *dusticks* so Sir William broke up his camp and departed without them. This behaviour was resented and the departing Embassy brought to a halt by the assembling of Mogul troops. After considerable discussion Sir William agreed to return and await the Emperor's pleasure. He described his own position with complete accuracy when he stated that he could not consider himself other than a "prisoner." Nevertheless, but for his apprehensions, it would have been quite clear to him that Aurangzib had no wish to do him personal injury. In this part of the negotiations Sir William had to deal with the Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Khan one of the Mogul's ablest generals, whom Aurangzib had some time before caused to be blinded not out of affection.

The delay in obtaining the Emperor's final orders extended over weeks. It was said that at the eleventh hour he had granted the *phirmaunds*, and more than once Sir William's durance was brightened by the news that they were at last on their way to him. To bring about realisation of his hopes he promised in the Company's name large rewards to the Nawab to be paid when the *phirmaunds* should arrive at Surat. His prudence was justified for in the end no *phirmaunds* were received. What did at last reach him were Aurangzib's reply to King William's letter and presents in return for those sent three years earlier. They were accompanied with the Imperial commands that they should be delivered to the Ambassador in person: and after some demur Sir William who had strictly refrained from visiting the Nawab consented to call upon him for this purpose. At the interview which followed Sir William was assured that the Emperor had promised to grant the *phirmaunds* but that they were not yet ready. After receiving the letter and presents for King William the Ambassador was decorated with a *serpaw* and received an elephant as his personal gift. That they actually came from the Emperor himself was made plain to the assembly in the course of the ceremony of investiture. In spite of disappointment over the failure of his mission Sir William did not conceal his pleasure at these polite attentions. The *dusticks* now duly arrived and the Embassy resumed its march to Surat. On this occasion no obstacles were encountered. Three months exactly had passed since they set out from the Imperial Camp when the Ambassador and his retinue made a state entry into Surat.

Sir William Norris' troubles with the Mogul were now over; those with his own countrymen were to complete the tale of his tribulations. Sir Nicholas Waite, the colleague who had come to India almost simultaneously with himself and was charged with the same interests, was absent—apparently of deliberate intent—from the reception. He impudently asserted that with departure from the Imperial Court the Embassy had come to an end and that none need take further notice of the Ambassador. It is difficult to find terms strong enough to characterise such conduct. It was like kicking a man when he is down. Mr. P. E. Roberts in his chapter in Sir W. W. Hunter's *History of India* plainly puts restraint on himself when he remarks :

> "The meanness of his reception, contrasting strongly with his pompous state entry fourteen months before, was eloquently emblematic of his failure."

There appears even to have been a painful altercation between Ambassador and Consul, the latter accusing and the former defending himself. By Article 12 (*see* p. 48 of Letter Book 11, I.O.) of the Company's instructions Waite had evidently a certain amount of jurisdiction over Sir William with regard to the mission of the Embassy, but it will hardly be denied that he exercised it with a singular lack of humane feeling. Even when Sir William asked Waite and the Council to meet him to confer on important affairs of the Company they declined and asked him to communicate with them in writing when he would be favoured with their opinion. An Ambassador who has failed in his task is not unlike a beaten general. He is subjected to harsh and even ill-informed criticism. That is what happened in this case. Every agent in all three Presidencies severely condemned him asserting that with more tact and prudence and a more conciliatory attitude towards the Vizier, Asad Khan, the *phirmaunds* might have been secured.

In his instructions from the Court on his departure from England Sir William Norris had been requested to leave India immediately his mission had been brought to a conclusion. For some inscrutable reason the Company's authorities in Surat threw obstacles in the way of his doing so. After several requests a ship was chosen that was altogether unsuitable for one who in spite of all that had happened was still the King's Ambassador. It is not at all clear why the local Council should have acted thus, especially in delaying his departure. He appears to have thought that they were apprehensive of the complaints he might justly make on reaching England of their lack of support while he was negotiating at the Mogul's camp. Apparently too they feared that his journal might contain severe strictures on them, for they tried to induce him to leave a copy of it in India. His refusal of this request might possibly have borne that interpretation, but as a matter of fact the journal contains nothing to justify such fears. It appears also that the representatives of the Old Company were apprehensive and that with more reason. They had opposed and thwarted him at almost every turn, expending large sums of money in so doing. It cannot indeed now be doubted that a large measure of the failure of the Embassy was due to their extensive bribing. Whatever reflections the journal might contain on the actions of the New Company's representatives it is certain that those of the Old Company merited severe and emphatic condemnation. The change that had now taken place in England made matters still more serious for the latter. For the rivalry between the Companies was at an end. They had become united with the result that those who had so fiercely opposed the Embassy now found, as it were, the ground removed from beneath their feet. The opposing interests of the two Companies having become merged in one common enterprise, the rival champions in India were confounded by the new situation and, of course, found themselves no longer in favour. Their fears, however, as to what Sir William Norris might report on his return to England were soon to be set at rest. When the weary Ambassador at last sailed from India aboard the *Scipio*, the unseen Angel of Death went with him and his worldly anxieties were almost at their end.

It were useless to speculate on what might have been Sir William Norris' reception had he been spared to arrive in England. The King who commissioned him to India was dead, but that circumstance would have been more favourable than otherwise, for William was not lenient towards failure. The new Sovereign Queen Anne was in the hands of a Whig ministry to which party Sir William belonged. With the experience gained in the East he would most likely have soon found his way again into the House of Commons. The circumstances would have been wholly favourable to the condonation of any defects with which his detractors might have charged him. He had failed in his mission, it is true, but he had manfully upheld the dignity of his Sovereignty and reputation of his country. He had not secured the much desired *phirmaunds* from Aurangzib, but at least he had impressed that potentate favourably. And even had the mission succeeded in its main object what benefits would the *phirmaunds* have brought seeing that the rival Companies were now one? Sir William Norris need have had no fears about his reception in England. But that Power which disposes all earthly things had decreed an earlier end to his anxieties, with a consolation more perfect than Royal favour or Parliamentary honour.

The history of the two Companies for the next seven years in one largely of distrust, rivalry and disunion even after formal union. Their servants both in England and in India had been rivals long enough to find it hard to co-operate with one another. Prospects, therefore, were for some time not very hopeful. The General Courts of both Companies had agreed to a provisional union but it was not till 1709 that they found themselves on solid ground. In that year a Tripartite agreement was concluded between the Sovereign and the two Companies, largely through the efforts of Lord Godolphin and Lord Halifax. Their full title then became "The United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies." Through the death two years before of Aurangzib, the Mogul Empire became dismembered and that led later to the establishment on a firm basis of the "United East India Company." Thus was opened a new chapter in the history of the Trade and Government of India. This was the era of "John Company" which came to an end at the close of the Great Mutiny in the middle of the nineteenth century.

HARIHAR DAS

TO A DEAD CANARY BIRD

Whence has it flown,—the little germ of life
That animated thy fair form, sweet bird ?
That motion gave to thy soft, yellow wings,
That voiced the song within thy swelling throat,
And made thine eyes aglow with throbbing joy !
Now are they lifeless ; all their light is gone,
And useless are thy folded wings for aye !
Thy song is hushed ; thy vital spark has flown—
Poor, hapless bird, born in captivity.
Thy gilded cage a prison was to thee,
And yet, thou didst not know ! Ah, sad the lack
Of understanding of thy bitter loss !
Nought didst thou know of love or mating sweet ;
Of nest, or of the mystery of birth.
Thy wings were plumed, but shut from tree or sky ;
No touch of flower, or bath of morning dew,
Hast thou e'er known in thy brief, stunted life.
The vague unrest, the longings dim for love,
The ecstasy of sunlight and of life,
Tuned thy sweet throat to melodies divine,
And thou didst sing thy little life away !
How oft I've watched thee and didst pity feel
That thou, all ignorant of freedom's joy,
Unknowing love's sweet pains and bliss,
Couldst sing in gilded cage and happy seem !
Ah, better be a homely sparrow brown,
Without an angel-harp to charm the air—
To live beneath the shelter of the leaves
'Twixt earth and heaven, and fashion thine own nest,
With thine own mate to weave and feather it !
Ah, better be the humblest bird that flies
On joyous wings beneath the arching blue,

And risk the beak of hawk, or arrow's flight,
Than dwell in honeyed safety, dull and drear!
Better to know the pangs of love and loss,
Than in sodden ignorance to exits!
Thank God thou'rt dead! Poor lifeless, yellow bird—
For now thy spirit will be born anew
In some diviner form, to feel and know
The sweets of liberty, of love and life:
For He who notes the humble sparrow's fall,
Will re-collect the tones thou'st sent abroad,
To thrill and vibrate in the realms of song
And mould them into joyous, throbbing life—
Mayhap in some fair child as yet unborn!
For not an atom 'neath the endless blue
Will e'er be lost; but ever upward move.
Oh, Life, imponderable and vast!
Oh, Love, omnipotent and infinite!
I have no words to voice the truth I feel—
That all is One with God, and all Divine!

TERESA STRICKLAND

VIGNETTES FROM RABINDRANATH'S 'LIPICA'

I. A Glance.

At the moment of parting, she turned her face slightly and gave me her last glance.

In the immensity of the world, where shall I keep that single glance ? Where is the place that is inaccessible to the silent foot-steps of seconds, minutes and hours ?

Will this glance be merged in the gloom of night that devours all the gold of autumnal clouds ?

Will it be washed away by the rains that carry off the dust of *Nagkeshar* blossom ?

How can it live amid the thousand diversities of the world—its vanity and its sufferings ?

...Her sudden glance wandered over to me ignoring all else. I shall weave it in my songs, I shall bind it in my rhymes, I shall keep it in the Paradise of Beauty.

The might of the crown and the wealth of the rich die away. But does not a drop of tear contain that nectar which will ever revive this momentary glance ?

...A tune of my songs murmurs in my bosom, "Let me have it. I touch not the kingly crown nor the gold of the rich ; but trifles like that glance are my sole treasure. With them I make a garland for Eternity."

II. Eve and Dawn.

Eve descends here. It's dawn in some far-off country across the ocean.

Here, in the shroud of darkness, the *Rajanigandha* trembles in ecstasy like a veiled, newly-married bride standing at the doors of the room in which her lover sleeps.

There, the golden *Champak* of morn opens its petals...An awakening ; lamps are put out ; wreaths of flower fondly woven in the night fall down discarded.

Here, the doors are locked, and the ferryman is fast asleep in his boat.

There, the windows fly open and the boat glides away on the sweeping current.

There, they come out of the *serai* and proceed eastward. The crimson rays touch their forehead ; dark eyes tender with longings await their arrival at the windows overlooking the road which opens before them its tinted letter of invitation with the words " We are ready to receive thee." Their blood dances wild in their veins with the rhythmic beats of a trumpet.

Here, they all cross the river in the dying light, and then cross no more.

Here, they spread their beds in the *serai*. Some are lonely; others have their mates wearied. What is in front lies invisible in the dark. What was behind—they whisper to one another. When words are lost they lie in silence. Then, looking up to the sky, they see the Seven Stars smiling radiant on their faces.

O Sun, let the Eve on your left and the Dawn on your right clasp each other in deep embrace. Let the dark shades of the one kiss the flooding light of the other. Let them be enveloped in one sweet, harmonious music.

III. My First Grief.

The pathway that runs through the shades of the wood is now covered with soft grass.

In that rigid loneliness a sudden voice whispers, " Do you remember me ? "

I turn round and look wondering at her face ;—" I remember you as through a veil of mist, but cannot recollect your name."

" I am your First Grief—the forgotten one that came to you when you were twenty-five."

A misty tear stands in her eye. It is like the crescent moon dancing in dark waters.

I gaze amazed. " On that day I saw you gloomy as the clouds of rain ; but to-day you bear the gold of autumn on your face. Are all the tears dried up in your sad sweet eyes ?"

She stands in silence while her lips part in a faint smile. That smile bears her answer ; it is the disguise of a world of tears. She suggests a rain-cloud that has stolen the smiles of an autumnal blossom.

" Have you still preserved the youth of my twenty-fifth spring ?" I ask.

She lifts up her eyes : "Ay, it is here ; it swings as a wreath on my bosom."

I look at it in an ecstasy of surprise. Not a petal of the wreath of my forgotten youth has fallen under the brush of age.

—"All that I possess is fast withering ; this—this alone is still alive on your bosom with all the colours of life."

Slowly she takes the garland out, puts it around my neck and whispers in a mysterious voice, " Do you remember, you said that day that you loved grief—not consolation ? "

I feel a sense of shame ; " I did ; but many a year went by since and it passed away from my mind."

" But since that day all these long and weary years I have awaited you in the shade of the tree yonder. Will you not take me back, my beloved—"

I clasp her warm hands and murmur, " What new charms blossom forth on your lips ! "

She answers with a sigh of content, " What was Grief to you, is now Peace."

B. C. BHATTACHARYYA

RAIYATI HOLDINGS IN BENGAL—ARE THEY ECONOMIC?

"* * * * He (the raiyat) scantly heeds,
So food suffice, the toilsome life he leads ;
A patient man, too simple to complain.
And sometimes 'mid his fellows, as they troll
Their rustic songs at eve, in mellower mood,
He half forgets the ills that tame his soul:
The nightly tiger thirsting for his blood,
The ambushed cobra gliding from its hole,
Nature's blind force, the famine and the flood."—*Webb.*

The raiyat is the most important person in the economic life of Bengal, howmuchsoever he may be neglected by the political busy body. Numerically his fraternity form more than three-fourths the total population. According to the latest Census figures those that work on the soil number 40,543,580 persons out of a total population of 47,592,462. He takes little notice however of the political world and is hardly affected by those mysterious changes in fashion that are apt to absorb the attention of more civilised individuals. He can drink any water he comes across without regard to the cautious considerations that keep the civilised townfolk from all but the boiled and filtered product. He can eat anything that does not affect his caste without the carking knowledge that it may contain the germs of cholera or the bacilli of some other fell disease. As far as his experience carries him, the raiyat finds that poverty is pandemic, suffering sporadic, and independence practically invisible, and he is not therefore disturbed by that "apprehension of the good" that "gives but the greater feeling to the worse." He is the victim of economic forces over which very little control is exercised. Between the landlord and the money-lender he finds himself as between two jaws of a vice which, under the peculiar legal system of the country, are screwed closer by the Courts of Justice. He does not care to dabble in questions of economics and hardly scrutinises whether his holding is economic or not. Government or patriots have to think for him. It is fortunate that the destiny of the dumb millions of India has now been placed in the hands of a Viceroy who by his previous experience as the Minister of Agriculture in Great Britain is sure to prove the raiyat's friend and as a matter of fact has, from the very start of his career in India, been taking keen interest in the welfare of the agricultural community. The appointment of a special Commission to examine the agricultural problems of the country with a view to the amelioration of the condition of the raiyats with Lord Linlithgow as President which synchronised with the auspicious advent of His Excellency Lord Irwin was also most opportune. The Commission have already finished their tours and the fruits of their labours will soon get crystallised in the form of a report, and be placed in the hands of the public. Their questionnaire included such subjects as the aggregation of fragmented holdings, joint farming, etc. Their considered opinion on these subjects and the solution which it may suggest will be vital to the interest of the *raiyat.*

With the increase of population the sub-division of holdings is gradually increasing, and the subject has long engaged the attention of Government. So long ago as in December, 1917, the question of uneconomic holdings was discussed at the Conference of the Board of Agriculture held at Poona. Experts from all parts of India assembled there were of opinion that the science of Agriculture was powerless so long as the cultivator's holding continued to be short of an economic unit. The following was the Resolution passed by them :

> "That this meeting of the Board of Agriculture recognises that in many parts of India the extreme and increasing sub-division of the land and scattered character of the holdings together form a very serious impediment to agricultural progress and the adoption of agricultural improvements, and wishes to suggest that the attention of Local

Governments be called to the matter. It recommends that the question be closely investigated and experiments made in each provincial area in consultation with the Registrar of Co-Operative Societies with a view to the adoption of such measures as seem best adapted to meet the special local circumstances and to the introduction of such legislation as may be necessary."

Mr. J. F. Keatings of the Agriculture Department recently giving evidence before the Royal Agricultural Commission pointed out that the distribution of land among cultivators in India was most prejudicial to production, the small holdings being uneconomic in size and shape. He stated that he could recall tracts where rare holdings of suitable size and shape stood out from the surrounding ineffective cultivation like bright stars. It is not possible to lay down by a rule of thumb what is an economic unit, for it is a relative quantity varying with the standard of civilization. The record of rights, which forms the Magna Charta of the raiyat and has been prepared during the last two decades for several districts in Bengal, contains a mine of information, and the settlement reports prepared under the auspices of distinguished members of the Imperial and Provincial Services supply information regarding the average size of holdings, the average annual income and necessary expenditure per head. The following statistics about some districts are illuminating :

District.	Average size of a raiyat's holding in acres.	Average agri-cultural income per head per annum.	Average necessary expenditure per head per annum.		Average necessary annual expenditure for a family of 5 or 6 persons.
		Rs.	Rs.	A.	Rs.
Midnapur	1·29	48	48	0	240
Bakarganj	2·51	29	50	0	250
Faridpur	1·39	60	50	0	250
Dacca	1·58	57	54	0	250
Mymensing	2·67	72	56	0	280
Rajshahi	3·50	40	50	0	200
Noakhali	2·30	30	50	0	200
Jessore	1·50	54	53	3	240

It will appear from the above figures that in no district the average necessary expenditure of the raiyat's family is covered by the average income from the the holding. In those districts where there is appreciable disparity between income and expenditure, the problem must be very acute, and something requires to be done to prevent perpetual indebtedness. The average income per head in the eight districts ranges from Rs. 29 to Rs. 60. This does not compare favourably with the figures ascertained for some of the other provinces of India. For example in the Madras Presidency the average agricultural income has been estimated at Rs. 100 and in the Bombay Presidency at Rs. 75. Compared with the figures for India as a whole the outlook in Bengal is not, however, so cheerless. Prof. Rushbrook Williams observes in respect of the whole of India—" Where rainfall is precarious and uncertain, and the soil shallow and poor, the income from all sources per head in a typical village has been calculated at Rs. 33-12-0 per annum as against a minimum of expenditure necessary for real needs in respect of food and clothing at Rs. 44 per annum." Major Jack in his *Economic Life of a Bengal District* has estimated the average family debt to be Rs. 58 per cent. of the annual income amongst cultivators.

The average size of the holding is different in different districts, and a bigger size is not necessarily indicative of a larger yield. It is the outturn from the holding that is the most important factor in determining the raiyat's prosperity. In some districts the soil is more fertile and a smaller area yields sufficient quantities of crops. For example, in Midnapur although the size of the holding is only 1·29 acres, the outturn is just sufficient to keep a single person above want, while in Bakarganj although a raiyat holds more land he is not in a position, if he is to depend on his agricultural income alone, to keep soul and body together. Whatever may be the size of a holding, it should not be so small, however, as to be below the point of marginal utility. Administrators are required to see that the poor raiyat who is so ignorant as not to be able to think for himself is kept back from such a crisis. The raiyat should be in possession of such quantity of land as may be sufficient for proper maintenance of himself and his family. In view of the statistics for the eight districts referred to previously, the size of an economic holding in Bengal should be 5 to 8 acres, assuming that each cultivator has 5 or 6 persons dependent on him.

Although the average size of a holding does not indicate the total land held by a family, for it is not unoften that more than one holding is held by a person under different landlords or separate holdings are possessed by the different members of the same family, there is no gainsaying the fact that the subdivision of holdings which is continuously going on is a great hindrance to the economic prosperity of the raiyat. It is a serious impediment on the way of land development and land improvement, to effective organization and even to adequate tillage and intensive cultivation. The small size of the holding means a greater exhaustion of the soil, an insufficient security for the raiyat and consequently a higher rate of interest which he borrows; and is a fruitful source of friction and litigation.

Under existing conditions it seems almost impossible to forcibly restrict the size of a holding while so many factors are constantly in operatian, *viz.*, increasing population, frequent transfer of land, and the rigid laws of succession. The gradually decreasing size of a holding with the lapse of ages is inevitable and not peculiar to India. Even in a country like America, where there are no rigid laws of succession at work and where the people are not so ignorant, the size of farms has gradually decreased with the increase of population. In the United States the average size of a farm was 202·6 acres in 1900 when population increased a little over 20 per cent. Dr.

Mann's examination of the sizes of holdings in the Deccan shows the following results :—

Year.	Average size of the holdings.
1771	40 acres
1818	17½ ,,
1820-40	14 ,,
1915	7 ,,

Such holdings have been sub-divided into 729 separate plots of which 463 are less than one acre and 112 less than one-fourth of an acre, although according to the estimate of competent authorities anything less than 10 to 15 acres would not be an economic holding in that area. If statistics for other parts of India be taken the figures would be equally alarming. In America and Europe the laws of succession may easily be changed with the exigencies of circumstances and to suit the economic conditions of the country, but in India any interference whatsoever with the fixed dogmatic principles enjoined in religious books or scriptures will be considered revolutionary and sacrilegious. The rigorous law of inheritance cannot possibly be modified by legislation. The transferability of holding is also difficult to stop, so long as the root causes leading to such transfer cannot be checked. This involves a difficult economic question which cannot be solved in a day or by a sudden legislative *coup*.

A comparison of the sizes of agricultural holdings in the different countries as specified below will show the relative position of India in that respect :—

Name of country.	*Average size of holding.*
England and Wales	62 acres
Germany	21·5 ,,
France	20·25 ,,
Denmark	40 ,,
Belgium	14·5 ,,
Holland	26·0 ,,
United States	148 ,,
Japan	3 ,,
China	3·25 ,,
India	2 to 3 ,,

In India itself the sizes of holdings vary considerably in different provinces as will be evidenced from the following figures :—

Name of Province.	*Average size of raiyat's holding.*
United Provinces	7·83 acres
Madras Presidency	3 to 4 ,,
The Punjab	8 to 10 ,,
Behar	1 acre
Orissa	8 acres
Bombay Presidency	12½ ,,
Bengal	1¼ to 2·08 acres

So far as area is concerned, barring Behar, the size in Bengal is practically the smallest.

The economic difficulties which a Bengal raiyat has to contend against are accentuated by the exceedingly small size of his holding. The fertility of the soil in Bengal and the various fruit crops (*e.g.*, betelnut, cocoanut, jack, mangoe, plantain, etc.) which he derives from his holding do not serve as an adequate set-off. The only panacea lies in education and co-operation. Cultivators require to be educated in methods of intensive cultivation. They should learn how to grow a variety of crops on the same plot of land without impairing the quality of the soil by the use of different kinds of manures. They may be taught to go beyond the results of experiences of their fathers in order to keep a breast of the changes of the day and to follow closely the movements of agricultural science and practice. Real agricultural education which will teach a cultivator how to improve his profession instead of shunning his ancestral calling will make up a good deal for the so-called "disability of agriculture." The socialistic ideal of a centralised agricultural system must replace the growing economic individualism. The old rural communalism which has died out in many provinces without being accompanied by the birth of any new conception of social solidarity should be restored. The old communal habits should be adapted to new social and agricultural needs. Co-operative associations for carrying out experiments in new methods of agriculture and organisation should be formed throughout the country. The aim of these co-operative associations should be to adopt, in a manner suitable to modern conditions, the organisation of the joint family, caste and village community. The economic problem can only be solved by agricultural re-organisation on co-operative lines based on the traditions of the past and supplemented by arrangements for the co-oparative supply of agricultural requisites and the marketing of agricultural produce. The results attained by the co-operative society at Khepupara in the Sunderbans area of the Bakarganj district should serve as an object lesson. In the matter of size of the holding the Japanese and the Bengali are almost similarly circumstanced. But the Japanese cultivator is far more prosperous than his Bengali compeer, and this is due to his superior methods of agriculture and better organisation. In Japan there are diverse forms of co-operative organisations and brotherhoods. There are societies for the improvement of seeds and manures, for killing insects and destroying weeds, for breeding cattle and the like. The evil of fragmentation is dealt with in that country by the adoption of methods of communalism which prevailed in the days of yore in India. The Japanese law permits a certain majority of farmers in a village to apply for forcible allotment and "restripping" of the land, each man receiving a consolidated block in one or two places. In the Punjab co-operative consolidation by consent has been effected in a number of villages. There should be some sort of legislation to enforce the consolidation of holdings where a majority of cultivators in any area for adequate reasons apply for it. In any case co-operation is the main thing needful and truly did His Royal Majesty on the occasion of his coronation in India observe :

> "If the system of co-operation can be introduced and utilised to the full I foresee a great and glorious future for the agricultural interests of this country."

S. A. LATIF

FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The most important source, next to land revenue, of State income in India during the greater part of the Company's rule, was salt. In pre-British days, salt was taxed at a low rate in common with a large number of other commodities.[1] The early history of the salt tax was a somewhat curious one. On the accession of Mir Kasim in 1760 to the Nawabship of Bengal, the claim of the Company's servants to trade in salt, duty free, was first avowed. An agreement was made with the Nawab by Vansittart, by which the duties were to be fixed at 9 per cent. The Council, however, reduced the duty to 2½ per cent. On this, Mir Kasim ordered that no customs or duties whatsoever should be collected for the future. In 1764, the Directors ordered a final and effectual stop to be put to the trade in salt. A few months later, however, the Directors ordered the Governor and Council to form a new plan for regulating the inland trade in the article.[2]

Clive established in 1765 an 'exclusive society' for the benefit of the covenanted servants of the Company for trading in salt, betel-nut and tobacco. But the Court of Directors disapproved of the arrangement. The Society, however, did not cease its activities till 1768. In 1767, the Directors repeated their orders for excluding all persons whatever, excepting Indians, from being concerned in the inland trade in salt. At the same time, they instructed that a duty on salt should be collected so as to produce a sum not less than £100,000 and not more than £120,000. The Governor and Council made new regulations for the salt trade, and fixed a duty of 30 sicca rupees per 100 maunds. This system, however, proved very unfavourable to government revenue, which declined from £118,296 in 1766-67 to £45,027 in 1772-73. Warren Hastings then resolved to assume the management of the manufacture of salt as a monopoly. It was decided that all salt should be made for the Company, and that the salt manufactories should be let in farm for five years. This farming system was found a complicated one in practice, and resulted in a loss of revenue. In 1777, on the proposal of Hastings, it was resolved to let the salt *mahals* to the zemindars and farmers for a ready money rent including duties, the salt being left to their disposal. After a short trial of this method, Hastings abandoned it.[1]

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[1] The Committee of Secrecy of 1772 said that the duty on salt under the government of the Nawabs was 2½ per cent. paid by Mussulmans and 5 per cent. by Hindus.

[2] Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783.

In 1780, Hastings changed his plan a third time, and instituted a salt office. The trade in the article was again engrossed for the benefit of the Company, and the management conducted by a number of salt agents. Under this scheme, the salt-producing tracts were divided into separate agencies. The *malangis* or salt-makers received advances from the agents on condition that the whole of their produce should be sold to the government at prices agreed upon. The agents then disposed of their salt to wholesale dealers at prices fixed from year to year by the government.

This assumption of strict monopoly was strenuously opposed in the Governor-General's Council. But it proved completely successful from the financial standpoint. During the first three years of the introduction of the system, the salt revenue averaged £464,060. Commenting on the inconsistent policy of the Company, the Select Committee of 1783 observed :

> "Salt, considering it as a necessary of life, was by no means a safe and proper subject for so many experiments and innovations."

They added :

> "The many changes of plan, which have taken place in the management of salt trade, are far from honourable to the Company's government

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[1] Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783.

and that even if the monopoly of this article were a profitable concern, it should not be permitted. Exclusive of the general effect of this and of all monopolies, the oppressions which the manufacturers of salt, called Malangis, still suffer under it, though perhaps alleviated in some particulars, deserve particular attention. There is evidence enough on the Company's records to satisfy your Committee that those people have been treated with great rigour, and not only defrauded of the due payment of their labour, but delivered over like cattle in succession to different masters, who under pretence of buying up the balances due to their preceding employers, find means of keeping them in perpetual slavery. For evils of this nature there can be no perfect remedy, as long as the monopoly continues."

The revenue from salt grew steadily during the next quarter of a century, and during the three years preceding the Fifth Report of 1812 it averaged £1,360,180 a year. The importation of foreign salt began in 1817 in Bengal, when an import duty of Rs. 3-4 *as*. was imposed. Imported salt, however, did not assume substantial proportions till 1835. In 1836, auction sales were discontinued, and the system of fixed prices and open warehouses established. During the seven years commencing with 1837-38, the duty on salt was Rs. 3-4 *as*. per maund. The average annual quantity of salt sold and imported during that period was 4,627,030 maunds. In November, 1844, the duty was reduced to Rs. 3 per maund, and there was a slight increase in sales. In April 1847, the duty was further reduced to Rs. 2-12 *as*. per maund, which was accompanied by a slight increase in sales. In 1849, the duty was subjected to a further reduction to Rs. 2-8 *as*. per maund, at which figure it stood till the close of the Company's administration. The high cost of producing Bengal salt enabled English salt to obtain a footing in the Calcutta market. And the maintenance of this footing was made easy by the nominal freights which English salt paid, it being carried as ballast.

In the Madras Presidency, until the year 1805, the manufacture of salt was either farmed out or managed by the officers of the government, but upon what system the records do not clearly show. During the five years preceding 1805, the net revenue amounted to Rs. 2,80,000 (to £28,000). In 1804, the gross receipts amounted to Rs. 2,21,607, and the charges of establishment were Rs. 11,467. The system established in 1805 was one of strict monopoly, both in regard to the manufacture of, and the wholesale trade in, salt. The sale price of salt was, in the first instance, fixed at Rs. 70 per garce (of 120 maunds), including the duty and all cost of manufacture. In 1809, the price was raised to Rs. 105 per garce ; but the revenue not having increased in the expected proportion, the price was reduced to the original rate. In 1828, the price was again raised to Rs. 105, at which rate it remained until 1844, when it was raised to Re. 1-8 *as*. per maund (or Rs. 180 per garce) as some compensation for the loss incurred by the abolition of the transit duties. The Court of Directors, however, considered the increase as "too large and too sudden," and directed the reduction of the rate to Re. 1 per maund or Rs. 120 per garce. This rate remained unaltered during the remainder of the Company's administration. In 1853, the duty on the importation of foreign salt into the Madras territories was reduced from Rs. 3 to 12 annas a maund. But in 1855 it was raised to 14 annas in order to place the imported salt on the same footing as the home-made salt. The net amount of the salt revenue in the Madras Presidency was about 42 lakhs of rupees in 1856-57.

In the Bombay Presidency, the salt revenue, originally, was only one of many miscellaneous items of State income. There was no monopoly in the article, and the duties were of a trifling nature. In 1837, an excise duty of 8 annas per maund was imposed in commutation of the transit duties, while early in the following year, a customs duty of the same amount was levied on all salt imported from any foreign territory. The receipts from salt, however, fell short of the revenue formerly derived from inland duties by about two and a half lakhs of rupees. Therefore, in 1844, it was considered necessary to raise the excise and import duty to Re. 1 per maund. The Court of

Directors, however, thought that the increase was more than what was necessary and, in accordance with their instructions, the rate was reduced to 12 annas a maund. The net increase of revenue realised from the increased excise, on an average of eight years from 1845-46 to 1853-54, was Rs. 7,31,720.

The North-Western Province obtained its supply of salt partly from Bengal and partly from the Sambhar Lake in Rajputana and other localities on the west. The rates of duty payable towards the close of the Company's administration were as follows. Bengal salt, having paid the excise or import duty, passed free into the North-Western Provinces. The Sambhar and other salt, on crossing the north-western frontier line, was subjected to a duty of Rs. 2 per maund, and to a further duty of 8 annas per maund on transmission eastward of Allahabad. The excise duty on salt at the Punjab Salt Mines was fixed at Rs. 2 per maund after the annexation of the province.

The method of salt manufacture differed in the different parts of the country. In Bengal, salt was obtained by boiling sea-water. In Bombay and Madras, the process was that of solar evaporation. In the Punjab, it was extracted in a pure state from the salt mines. Another source of supply was the Sambhar salt lake in Rajputana. The lake overflowed during the rains, and when the water subsided, a deep incrustation of salt was deposited on its shores for several miles around.[1]

On the propriety or desirability of continuing the salt monopoly, considerable divergence of opinion prevailed. As early as 1776, Philip Francis expressed the view that salt should be "as free and unburthened as possible." In later times, the controversy became a keen one. On the one hand, it was asserted that the government ought not to undertake any business transaction, that every monopoly was bad in principle, and that the salt tax of India had all the defects of a monopoly. On the other hand, it was maintained that the monopoly in salt was an easy and cheap method of obtaining revenue, that it was very productive, and that it gave employment to a large number of workers. The question gave rise, on several occasions, to acute and even bitter controversies in the press, and some of the defenders of the monopoly even charged the detractors of the system with a desire to supplant the domestic manufactures of Bombay and Madras by importations of salt from Liverpool.[1] It was, however, really a matter of revenue and not a trading monopoly, and it was considered difficult to abolish it until more suitable means were found by which the same amount of revenue could be raised. The Select Committee which was appointed in 1836 observed in their Report :

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[1] Report of the Select Committee, 1832-33, Appendix No. 14,

> "The evils usually incident to a Government monopoly in a great article of consumption are not wanting in the salt monopoly in India ; and they are not convinced that the same amount of revenue which has been hitherto derived from the monopoly might not be collected with equal security to the revenue, and great advantage to the consumer and commerce under a combined system of customs and excise."

They were, however, unwilling in the then existing state of India's finances to recommend positively any measure which might endanger the revenue, and made a number of tentative proposals with the object of mitigating some of the evils of the system.

Opinion was no less divergent on the question of the incidence of the tax. Since the days of Philip Francis, who was the first to wield his pen against the impost, there were many thoughtful persons who condemned it. In the course of his evidence before the Select Committee of 1832-33, Rammohun Ray said :

> "As salt has by long habit become an absolute necessity of life, the poorest peasants are ready to surrender everything else in order to procure a small proportion of this article...If salt were rendered cheaper and better, it must greatly promote the common comforts of the people."

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[1] Appendix C to the Minutes of Evidence, Lords Committee, 1852-53.

"It would be adding insult to injury," wrote an Indian gentleman, " to expect them (the people of India) quietly, or at least unmurmuringly, to submit to the annihilation of the last remaining branch of their domestic manufactures."

In many of the petitions presented before the Select Committee of 1852-53, the salt duty was described as a tax which pressed very heavily on the poor. One of the witnesses before this Committee was very emphatic in his condemnation of it. W. Keane described it as "an oppressive tax" and as "the greatest temporal curse on the country." He added : "I think to tax water or rice or salt in India must be a sure way to injure the country."[1]

In 1853, the House of Commons adopted a resolution urging the abolition of the duty. But the government did not see their way to accept it, as it was, in their opinion, the only tax paid by the mass of the people, who had long been accustomed to it and on whom it did not press heavily.[2] Bright characterised the system as "economically wrong and hideously cruel."

The revenue derived from salt, exclusive of customs duties levied on imported salt, amounted to £2,501,881 in 1856-57 and £2,131,346 in 1857-58. Including the yield of the customs duty, the revenue derived from this source was £3,812,217 in 1856-57 and £3,249,978 in 1857-58. The salt revenue thus represented nearly 10 per cent. of the total income of India towards the close of the Company's rule.[3]

We come now to a source of revenue which was next to salt in the order of yield during the first three quarters of the Company's administration, but which far outstripped the latter in the remaining period. This was the opium monopoly. It was a commercial transaction, and may be regarded as one of the sources of non-tax revenue. If it be considered a tax, it fell not so much upon the people of India as upon the inhabitants of China. During the Mahomedan rule, considerable income was derived by the State from this source. The monopoly of the Company in this article is to be traced to the very origin of British influence in Bengal. It began at Patna as early as the year 1761. But it was the acquisition of the *dewani* which opened a wide field for the project. It was then adopted and owned as a resource for persons in office.[1] The monopoly was justified on various grounds, such as "the security against adulteration ; the prevention of an excessive consumption of a pernicious drug ; the stopping of an excessive competition, which by an overproportioned supply, would at length destroy the market abroad ; the inability of the cultivator to proceed in an expensive and precarious culture, without a large advance of capital ; and lastly, the incapacity of private merchants to supply that capital on the feeble security of wretched farmers."[2]

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[1] Report of the Lords' Committee, Vol. II.

[2] Speech of Sir Charles Wood in the House of Commons, 1854.

[3] The rates of duty per maund at this time were Rs. 2-8 *as*. in Bengal and 12 annas in Bombay. The selling price per maund was Re. 1 in Madras and Rs. 2 at the Punjab mines. The inland customs duty was in most places Rs. 2, but in some places Rs. 1-8 as or Re. 1. The selling price included the cost of manufacture estimated at 3 annas per maund. The total quantity of salt consumed in British India (excluding British Burma) was 2,02,87,641 maunds in 1857-58.

The real motive, however, as was pointed out by the Select Committee, was "the profit of those who were in hopes to be concerned in it." In 1773, the exclusive privilege of supplying opium was farmed out by Warren Hastings to Mir Munir, who was to deliver Behar opium at Rs. 320 and Oudh opium at Rs. 350 to the Company. This system led to the oppression of the cultivators. Various illegal cesses were levied on them, and forcible means were often used in order to induce them to cultivate poppy. In spite of these defects of the system, the contract was renewed in 1775,[3] and similar contracts were made during the ten years which followed. In 1785, the government decided to throw the contract open to public competition and to accept the highest offer. This contract was made for four years. The government reserved to itself the right of appointing inspectors to superintend the provision and manufacture of opium. It was also declared to be the duty of collectors of districts to hear all complaints of the raiyats against the contractors and to provide redress. When Lord Cornwallis arrived in India, he investigated the whole matter. The mode of supply by contract was renewed for another term of four years. Some of the *abwabs* or illegal cesses were abolished, and the rate at which the contractor was required to purchase the crude opium from the cultivator was fixed. But the Government knew, or ought to have known, that this rate could never be effective. The Select Committee observed as follows in this connection : "Your Committee cannot but notice the singular principle on which the contracts must have proceeded, wherein the Governmeut on contracting for the price at which they were to receive the opium, at the same time prescribed the price at which it should be purchased by the contractor, more specially when it appears that, as the latter was to exceed the former, it might be supposed that the contractor agreed to supply opium to the East India Company at a lower rate than he could purchase himself."

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[1] Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783. According to the Committee, the opium monopoly "was managed by the civil servants of the Patna factory, and for their own benefit."

[2] Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783.

[3] On this occasion, the contract was given to the highest bidder, one Mr. Griffiths. The third contract was given to one Mr. Mackenzie for three years. In the meantime, various evils had manifested themselves. One such instance was mentioned by the Select Committee. In 1776, notwithstanding an engagement in the contract strictly prohibiting all compulsory culture of the poppy, information was given to a member of the Council General that fields green with rice and been forcibly ploughed up to make way for that plant. *Vide* Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783.

In 1792, the regulations relating to opium were revised. But the revenue derived from the monopoly considerably diminished, owing to the debasement of the article by adulteration. It was, therefore, decided to discontinue the contract system and, in 1799, the agency of a covenanted servant of the Company was substituted. Regulation VI of this year prescribed rules for securing to the poppy cultivators the benefit of the ancient rates of rent on their lands.

The change in the management of the monopoly led to an improvement in revenue. In the last four years of the contract system, the average net income from opium was 8,19,400 sicca rupees a year, while the annual average of the four years 1807 to 1810 was no less than 59,80,100 sicca rupees. The agents appointed for the provision of salt and opium were, previously to their entering on the duties of office, required to take an oath to the effect that they would not derive any advantage themselves or allow any other persons to do so. Rules for enforcing the monopoly, and at the same time for protecting the cultivator, were embodied in a Regulation passed in 1816.

The monopoly system was regarded as objectionable in many quarters. As early as 1776, Philip Francis wrote: "The monopoly of this article is highly prejudicial to the foreign trade of Bengal. Nor have we a right to reckon the whole revenue arising from it as clearly gained to the Company, since it is beyond all doubt that the landed revenue suffers considerably by government's engrossing the produce of the lands; in proportion as the monopoly operates, the rents of the lands must diminish."[1]

The question was fully considered by the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1832-33. Several alternative methods were suggested by witnesses before this Committee. The first suggestion was that lands under poppy cultivation might be subjected to an additional assessment. The Committee thought that although this plan was not free from difficulty, it was worthy of consideration. The second suggestion, namely, that a duty might be levied according to the value of the standing crop when ripe, was considered impracticable on account of the extreme uncertainty of the crop and also of the difficulty of estimating the probable produce. The levy of an excise duty on the juice when collected was the third plan suggested. The Committee thought that there were insuperable objections to the adoption of the third plan in view of the expense of collecting the duty and the impossibility of preventing the most extensive smuggling. The last alternative was a customs duty on the exportation of opium. In the opinion of the Committee, this was a desirable mode of taxation, in as much as it tended to leave the producer unfettered and the burden would fall exclusively on the foreign consumer. But the adoption of this method was likely to lead to a reduction of revenue.

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[1] Francis added : " To recover the province of Behar from its present state of universal poverty and depopulation, I see no method so easy and certain as throwing open the opium trade, and making some alterations in the present oppressive method of providing the Company's saltpetre."—Appendix 14 to the Report of the Select Committee, 1783.

The Committee expressed the opinion that the monopoly of opium, like all other monopolies, had certain defects,—it was uneconomical in production, and imposed restrictions on the employment of capital and industry. But it was not, in their view, productive of very extensive or aggravated injury. Unless, therefore, it was found practicable to substitute an increased assessment on poppy-growing lands, the Committee did not see how the amount of revenue then collected could be obtained in a less objectionable manner. Besides, as the burden of the tax fell principally upon the foreign consumer, it was, on the whole, less liable to objection than any other tax which might be substituted for it. The Committee were not, however, oblivious of the fact that the revenue was of a precarious kind, depending as it did on a species of monopoly under which the Government possessed exclusive control over neither the production nor the consumption of the article. Besides, it had already been materially affected by the competition of Malwa opium. In their opinion, therefore, it would be highly imprudent to rely upon the opium monopoly as a permanent source of revenue. They further expressed the belief that the time was not perhaps very distant when it might be desirable to substitute an export duty, and thus by increased production under a free system, it might be possible to obtain some compensation for the loss of monopoly profit.

The monopoly of opium in Bengal supplied the government with an annual revenue amounting to about Rs. 90,23,387 (£902,338) during the few years preceding 1832. The duty amounted to a rate of 301¾ per cent, on the cost of the article. The revenue rapidly increased during the remaining years of the Company's rule. In 1837, the net revenue amounted to Rs. 1,76,16,665 (£1,761,666). In 1839, there was serious trouble with China over the trade in this article. The Chinese authorities seized the opium, and this led to hostilities with the Emperor of China. In 1845, the revenue derived from this source by the Government of India exceeded two crores of rupees or nearly two millions of pounds sterling. Thus, in less than twenty years, the opium revenue had more than doubled itself.

In 1847, the Board of Control observed that the system of sales tended to completely identify the government with the opium trade to the East, which was hardly desirable in view of the complaints of the Chinese people. They, therefore, urged that it should be considered whether a fixed duty added to the cost and charges of manufacture might not be conveniently substituted for the constantly fluctuating profits then derived from the speculative competition of bidders at the opium sales, or whether it would be advisable, in the first instance, to introduce the principle of fixed prices instead of sale by auction.[1] The advantages of the proposed changes were thus summed up by the Board :

> "By an arrangement of the above description the Government of Bengal would be relieved from all share in the opium speculations based on upset prices, and the speculators would have no occasion to invest a single rupee in purchasing opium before the time they required it for export. The value of the opium would be paid by each purchaser into the government treasury, without any notoriety being given to the extent of the traffic in that article between British India and China."

In 1852, Lord Dalhousie introduced important changes into the system of opium administration in British India. The main characteristics of the system as it existed in the closing years of the Company's rule were as follows. The management of what was known as Bengal opium was vested in the Bengal Board of Revenue.[1] There were two opium agencies, namely, those at Patna and Ghazipur, under European agents. Subordinate to the agents was a large staff of deputy and sub-deputy agents, who were all European.[2] The entire system was a strict government monopoly. Nowhere throughout British India (except to a slight extent in the Punjab), was either the cultivation of poppy or the manufacture of opium permitted, except on account of the government. The opium agents and the officers subordinate to them entered into annual contracts with the cultivators for the cultivation of certain areas and the delivery, at fixed prices, of the whole of the juice of the poppy grown by them. No pressure was put upon the cultivators to grow poppy in preference to any other crop, but those who entered into contracts with the opium officers were bound, under heavy penalties, to cultivate the full number of areas. The total area under poppy varied from year to year. The quality of produce varied owing to this circumstance, and also according to the character of the season. The local officers forwarded the juice under seal to the two factories at Patna and Ghazipur where it was manufactured into opium. The opium was then made into balls and packed in chests. These chests were sold at Calcutta by auction on fixed days in each year. The merchants who bought them exported the chests to China.

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[1] Parliamentary Paper No. 146 of 1852.

Considerable amount of revenue was also derived from the article in Bombay. This opium was produced in the Indian States of Central India. Till the year 1831, the government reserved to itself the monopoly of the opium grown in Malwa, which was enforced by means of treatiees with the States concerned. The produce was purchased by the Resident at Indore, and sold by auction at Bombay and Calcutta. This system involved much smuggling and constant disputes with the Indian States. It was, therefore, abandoned in 1831, and a "pass fee" or transit duty was substituted on the opium permitted to proceed to Bombay. The original rate of the duty was Rs. 175 per chest; but the exporters found it cheaper to ship the drug from the Portuguese port of Damaun. The government then thought it expedient to reduce the duty to Rs. 125 per chest. But after the conquest of Sind, it was found possible to increase it to Rs. 200 in 1843 and to Rs. 300 in 1845. In 1846, the fee on passes was raised to Rs. 400 per chest. In 1845-46, the revenue from Malwa opium exported to China exceeded 62 lakhs a year. Besides the opium exported to China, a small amount was realised from the export of the drug to Singapore and the Straits Settlements.[1]

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[1] A large portion, amounting to nearly one-half of the opium, was actually grown and manufactured within the jurisdiction of the North-Western Provinces.

[2] Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1882-83.

Towards the close of the Company's administration, the character of the opium revenue became the subject of criticism in Parliament. In 1855, John Bright, for instance, said: "He would not go into the question of the opium trade further than to say that a more dreadful traffic or one more hideous in its results never existed, except perhaps the transportation of Africans from their own country to the continent of America."[2]

The increase in the opium revenue was very remarkable. In 1785-86, the yield was only £169,321. In the beginning of the century, the revenue derived from this source was £372,521. In the year 1810, it amounted to £935,996. In 1820, it was £1,436,432; in 1830, £1,553,895; in 1840, £1,341,093. In 1850, it rose to £3,558,094, an enormous increase, attributable to the new trade opened with China. In 1856-57, the opium revenue was £5,011,525. In the following year, it rose to £6,864,206.[3] This source thus yielded about 20 per cent. of the total income of India in 1857-58.

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[1] Parliamentary Paper No. 146 of 1852.

[2] Debate in the House of Commons on the financial statement relating to India, 1855.

[3] Financial Statement relating to India in the House of Commons, 1859. Lord Stanley gave £4,696,709 and £6,443,706 as the figures for 1856-57 and 1857-58 respectively, which were inaccurate.

The opium revenue, however, was always regarded as a resource of an uncertain character, for its amount fluctuated with the abundunce or scarcity of the crops, which varied with the season, and with the demand for the article,—which itself depended on the taste of a foreign nation.

Customs formed a source, though not a very important source, of State revenue in India in pre-British days. When the East India Company acquired possessions in India, customs duties were levied under its authority in different parts of the country. The three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay administered their own customs departments, and had their separate tariffs. The customs regulations of the Presidencies were different, although a certain amount of similarity was observable in them.

In Bengal, the net revenue derived from customs levied at the port of Calcutta, on an average of the three years 1768-69 to 1771-72, was Rs. 1,90,285 (£19,028). There was, however, an increase during the next three years, the annual average rising to Rs. 3,40,908 (£34,090). In the year 1793, the revenue from this source in the province stood at about 6 lakhs.[1]

In 1773, by a resolution of the Government of Bengal, it was directed that every article of foreign or inland trade, excepting salt, betel-nut and tobacco (the duties on which were continued as before), should pay a duty to the government of 2½ per cent., when imported into or exported from any part of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, whether by land or by water. This collection was in addition to the town duties paid in Calcutta, and known as the 'Calcutta customs.' A Board of customs, consisting of a member of council and four senior civil servants, was instituted in this year at the Presidency, to inspect, regulate and control the system. Five customs-houses were established at Calcutta, Hughli, Murshidabad, Dacca, and Patna, besides *chaukis* stationed on the western and northern frontiers. This system caused a great deal of inconvenience. Therefore, with a view to promote internal trade, it was judged expedient in 1788 to abolish the government customs throughout the country, except on exports and imports passing the Company's north-western frontier at the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Gogra. A new customs-house was established at Manjee, this confluence, for collecting the duty of 2½ per cent.[1]

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[1] These duties were, in reality, town duties.

These rules were re-enacted in 1793 with some modifications. But the arrangements being found objectionable, both in diminishing the public resources and imposing a double burden on the trade of Calcutta, it was decided by the Governor-General in Council to abolish the Calcutta customs and to re-establish the government customs on imports by sea into, or exports from, the port of Calcutta. By Regulation I of 1797, an additional duty of 1 per cent. was imposed upon imports into, or exports from, Calcutta (money and bullion excepted), to assist in defraying the expenses of an armed vessel for the protection of the commerce of this part of the country against privateers. This was discontinued in 1800, and the former duty of 2½ per cent. was raised to 3½ per cent., in pursuance of an order of the Court of Directors. In 1801, in order to improve the public revenue, the customs-houses were, in addition to those at Calcutta, re-established at Hughli, Murshidabad, Dacca, Chittagong, and Patna (instead of Manjee). Rules for the collection of customs in the upper provinces were enacted in 1803 and 1804, and customs-houses were established in the principal towns.[2]

The administration of customs was under the revenue department till the year 1793, when it was transferred to the commercial department. A regulation enacted in that year established the principles of collection and the rates of duties to be collected at the two then existing customs-houses of Calcutta and Manjee. Certain alterations were made in 1797 and 1809. Until 1809, the rate of duty prevalent in Bengal on imports and exports was, with a few exceptions, 3½ per cent. There were, besides, various other payments to be made, such as stamps on rawanas, commission and fees to customs masters, etc., which not only were burdensome and vexatious to the merchants, but increased the cost of collection.[1]

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[1] Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations.

[2] *Ibid.*

In 1809, a Committee on Customs recommended important changes, which were embodied in Regulation IX of 1810. All previous enactments regarding customs were rescinded, and export and import duties were fixed, ordinarily at 7½, on some goods at 10, and on the rest at 5 per cent.[2] A few articles, such as bullion and coin, horses, and timber used for shipbuilding, were exempted from payment of import duty. Among the exports, grains of all sorts, stones and pearls, carriages, and opium purchased at the Company's sales were left free. The general tendency of this Regulation was to raise the rate of taxation. No distinction was made between British and foreign bottoms. Nor were the rates of duty affected by the origin of the goods. The administrative provisions of this Regulation related to the time and manner of the collection of export and import duties, and the grant of certificates and drawbacks. In some cases, a drawback was specifically allowed, and all goods imported expressly for re-exportation were declared to be entitled to a drawback amounting to two-thirds of the duty paid on their importation.[3] The financial results of these changes were eminently satisfactory.

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[1] Report of the Committee on Customs and Port Office Regulations, 1836.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Customs-houses were established in the cities of Agra, Farukhabad, Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Murshidabad, Dacca, Calcutta, and in the towns of Meerut, Cawnpur, Mirzapur, Chittagong, Hughli, and Balasore. Collectors were stationed at the larger places and deputy collectors at the smaller ones ; and they were empowered to establish *chaukis* at convenient places. An oath was to be taken by the collectors and their deputies.

An important alteration in the sea customs law of Bengal was introduced by Regulation III of 1811, the object of which was to give a preference to British vessels over foreign shipping by imposing heavier duties on the latter so as to secure the carrying trade of India to the former. The duties levied on exports and imports on foreign bottoms were raised to double the rates chargeable on goods conveyed on British bottoms. The same principle was also followed in regard to drawbacks. Another provision of the Regulation, which aimed at the exclusion of foreigners from the coasting trade of India, was to the effect that foreign vessels should proceed from British Indian ports direct to their own countries.

Several modifications of minor importance were introduced in 1812, 1813, and 1814. In the year 1815-16, the gross collections in the lower and upper Provinces of Bengal amounted to Rs. 62,06,488 (£620,648). The net customs revenue was about 48 lakhs of rupees. In the course of the year, important changes were effected by Regulation IV of 1815. With a view to encouraging the manufactures, trade, and shipping of Great Britain, it was provided that woollens of all sorts, all metals in a manufactured state, and canvas, cordage, and marine stores being the produce or the manufacture of the United Kingdom, which were hitherto assessed with duties, should be exempted from any payment on importation, provided they were brought from Great Britain in British registered or Indian built ships. It was also provided that all other articles similarly imported and being the produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom, should, instead of being subject to the existing duties, be assessed at the rate of 2½ per cent.; wines and spirits only were exempted from this provision, and were subject to the duties already established. Further, it was provided that articles, the produce or manufacture of foreign Europe, if imported in British registered or Indian built ships, were to pay duty at the rate of 5 per cent. With regard to exports, the provision was that indigo, cotton, wool, hemp and sunn, the produce or manufacture of British India, should on exportation by sea to Great Britain, in British-registered or Indian-built ships trading with the United Kingdom, be entitled to a drawback equal in amount to the duty paid on the articles. All other articles liable to duty under the regulations then in force and exported by sea according to the foregoing conditions, were to be allowed to secure such drawback as would leave the amount of duty actually retained at 2½ per cent.[1]

The effect of these changes was to communicate a great impulse to British commerce and industry. But the produce and manufactures of India, heavily taxed by the system of inland duties, were placed in an unquestionably disadvantageous position in competition with free or lightly taxed goods from the United Kingdom. These changes were also harmful to the financial interests of India. The revenue from customs in Bengal, which had increased by 10 lakhs during the years 1808-09 to 1813-14, remained practically stationary during the next twenty years.

In 1817, the exemption from duty, accorded by Regulation IV of 1815 to unmanufactured metals, was extended to all metals, wrought or unwrought, of British origin. By Regulation V of 1823, the transit and sea import duty leviable on Indian piece-goods (cotton, silk, and mixed), was reduced from 7½ to 2½ per cent. It was also provided that these descriptions of piece-goods, having once paid either the transit or the import duty specified, should have free export from any part of the Bengal Presidency, provided they were exported to Europe on British bottoms ; if exported to Europe, on foreign bottoms, an export duty of 2½ per cent. was chargeable; if exported to places not in Europe, they became liable to export duty at 2½ or 7½, according as they were conveyed on British or foreign bottoms. The object of these provisions was to place the

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[1] Report of the Committee on Customs and Port Office Regulations, 1836,

Indian and British piece-goods on the same footing. But the relief was only partial, because various other articles still remained subject to inland duties. Besides, and the relief as was observed by the Committee on Customs, "came too late," the Indian cotton manufactures having already been destroyed.

By Regulation XV of 1825, the entire customs law of Bengal was recast. The main principles, however, of the previous enactments were kept intact. In 1836, on the occasion of the abolition of the inland duties, the customs duties underwent a thorough revision. The number of enumerated classes of goods was thirty-two. Some articles of British manufacture, which used formerly to be imported free, were now subjected to duty. For instance, marine stores and metals were required to pay a duty of 3 per cent., and woollens 2 per cent. All articles not included in the enumerated list were liable to a duty of 3½ per cent. The import duty on cotton and silk piece-goods, cotton twist and yarn of British manufacture, was raised from 2½ to 3½ per cent. Products of foreign countries paid double the rates of duty. The differentiation regarding country of origin and flag was continued, and with the exception of the duties on opium and salt, all articles imported on a foreign vessel paid double the rates which were leviable on the same goods when imported in a British ship.[1]

The duties on exports were greatly simplified. The number of enumerated articles was reduced from 234 to 15, of which six were exempted from payment of duty. Sugar and rum exported to the United Kingdom or any British possession became free; but if exported to any other place, were made liable to payment of duty at the rate of 3 per cent. Cotton exported to Europe, the United States, or any other place, had to pay a duty of 8 annas per maund. All unenumerated articles paid duty at the rate of three per cent. As in the case of imports, goods exported on foreign bottoms paid double the duties chargeable on those exported on British bottoms.

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[1] *Vide* Schedules A and B to Act XIV of 1836, also Parliamentary Papers No. 147 of 1852.

When the duty was declared to be *ad valorem*, it was levied on the market value. Upon re-exportation by sea of goods imported, excepting opium and salt, a drawback amounting to seven-eighths of the amount of duty levied was to be repaid ; and if goods were re-exported on the same vessels without being landed, no import duty was to be levied thereon.

In 1843, duties which till then had continued to be levied on imports as well as exports in the territories situated in the northern and western frontiers in upper India, at the old rates of transit duty, were rescinded. This Act (XIV of 1843) confined collections on import and export across the frontier customs lines to three articles only, namely, salt and cotton imported from foreign States and sugar exported from British territory. Important alterations were made in 1845 and in 1848, which we shall discuss later.

The customs duties originally levied at Bombay were on a low scale. In 1793, the customs revenue of the Bombay Presidency was only £53,000. In 1799, the rate of duty was fixed at 2½ per cent. All export duties were withdrawn, and grain of all sorts was exempted from duty. The customs master and his assistant were authorised to levy certain fees. The rate of duty was *ad valorem*, modified in the case of foreign vessels by an advance of 60 per cent. on the prime cost. In 1805, an addition of 1 per cent. was made to the rate of duty, thus raising it to 3½ per cent. In 1813, the rate of duty at Bombay was raised on imports on foreign bottoms from 3½ to 4½ per cent., with an advance of 60 per cent. in the case of foreign goods. On exports the duty was fixed at 3½ per cent., which together with the inland import duty amounted to 7 per cent. In 1815, with a view to encourage the importation of British goods into India, the duties payable on various articles were abolished, and the duties on other articles, modified. In the case of exports of certain articles, such as indigo, cotton, wool, hemp and sunn, a drawback of the whole amount of the duty was granted on exportation to the United Kingdom ; in other cases, such a drawback was allowed as might reduce the duty actually receivable by the government to 2½ per cent. In 1817, certain alterations were made, the most important of which was that the duty on goods coming from foreign Europe in British ships was reduced to 3½ per cent.

At Surat and the other ports in the Bombay Presidency, the rates of customs differed to some extent, but many of them enjoyed mutual certificate privileges. British goods and goods imported on British bottoms were, at all the subordinate ports, admitted free on arrival from Bombay.

In 1827, the system of sea customs under the Bombay Presidency was revised by a Committee, when the duties and exemptions on goods from the United Kingdom were retained in their former state, while the duties on foreign goods imported in foreign vessels were raised.

It was the policy of the Government of Bombay to administer the customs system departmentally. But in 1827-28, the sea customs were farmed throughout the Presidency except at Bombay and a few other ports. The rates of customs duties were revised in 1845, and assimilated with those of the other provinces in 1848.

In the early years of the Company's rule, the customs duties in the Madras Presidency were at the rate of 5 per cent. These were usually received by collectors appointed by the Company. The collections were not, however, to the full extent. In 1765-66, these amounted to 89,884 pagodas. The revenue fluctuated from year to year. In 1770-71, it fell to 82, 947 pagodas, while in 1779-80, it was as low as 60,842 pagodas. In this year, advertisements were published for letting them at rent for five years. But objections were made by the merchants to this procedure, and the proposal was dropped unde the instructions of the Court of Directors.[1]

Revisions of the customs regulations of Madras took plac in 1781 and 1786. The chief feature of the latter revisio was the imposition of a duty on imports into Madras at 5 pe cent., with a drawback at 4 per cent. on goods re-shipped. The 5 per cent. rate was, however, considered too high, and wa reduced in 1789. In 1795, a duty of 2½ per cent. *ad valorem* with advances of 60 per cent. on foreign goods, or goods imported in foreign ships, was fixed. On exports also, a 2½ per cent. rate on all goods, with certain exemptions, was levied. In 1789, the Court of Directors instructed the Madras Government to levy an additional duty of 1 per cent. on the imports and exports by sea in order to meet the increased marine charges.

In 1803, a general duty of 6 per cent. was established on articles imported by sea into Madras on British or Asiatic o American vessels, and of 8 per cent. on goods imported on other vessels. In 1812, the customs system of the Madras Presidency underwent another revision. A general import duty a 8 per cent. was established on goods imported on British o Asiatic vesssels into Madras and the subordinate ports.[2] An export duty at the same rate was levied on goods exported from the subordinate ports ; but no export duty was levied at the port of Madras, except on goods exported on foreign vessels. Goods imported or exported on foreign vessels were subjected to double the rates.

Regulation II of 1816 was enacted with the object of encouraging the importation of certain classes of British goods into the Madras Presidency. Its provisions were similar to those already enforced in Bengal and Bombay. Regulation VII of 1819 fixed a general import duty of 5 per cent. on the produce or manufacture of foreign Europe; but in the case of goods from the United Kingdom, the general rate was 2½ per cent.; while certain kinds of goods, such as metals and metallic manufactures, jewellery, clocks, watches, shawls and woollens, were imported free. Some alterations were made in the customs regulations of the province in subsequent years; but these did not involve any changes of principle.

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[1] Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1782.

[2] Regulations II and IV of 1812. No import duty was levied on cotton.

The Committee on Customs recommended in 1836 the assimilation of the Bombay and Madras tariffs to the revised tariff which had been recently adopted for Bengal. They pointed out that the want of uniformity in the rates of duty prevalent at the different ports of India involved the injustice of a system of unequal taxation and caused great inconvenience to the public.

In 1844, the Court of Directors instructed the Government of India to revise the rates of customs duties at the three Presidencies, in order to make good the large deficiency in revenue occasioned by the abolition of the inland customs and town duties in Madras and by the abandonment of town and local duties in the Bombay Presidency. The revision was effected in 1845, and the rates of import duties levied in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay were raised on British manufactured articles to five per cent. if carried on British vessels, and ten per cent. on foreign vessels. These rates were doubled in respect of foreign manu factures imported on British vessels, and quadrupled when imported on foreign bottoms, with the exception of wines and liquors, which were only doubled. No alteration was made in the rates of export duty on this occasion.

In 1846, the Court of Directors sent a very important despatch to the Government of India in which they urged the adoption of three principles: first, the abolition of export duties on all articles except indigo; second, the abandonment of the double duties imposed on both exports and imports in the trade on foreign vessels;[1] and third, the publication of a general tariff of duties for the whole of British India, the trade from port to port being left free and unrestricted in all articles, with the exception of salt and opium.[1]

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[1] In case it was deemed necessary to give protection to the shipping of British India, the Court was inclined to prefer the exercise of powers conferred on them by Parliament

Two of these proposals were adopted in 1848. Inter-provincial trade was made completely free, and the whole of India was now for the first time treated as one empire. The discriminating duties on goods carried on foreign vessels were abolished. In 1850, the coasting trade was thrown open to the ships of all nations. Two defects, however, namely, the imposition of export duties and the levy of a distinctive double duty on goods imported from foreign countries, were not removed till after the end of the Company's administration.

The amount of revenue derived from customs including the duty on imported salt was £2,289,072 in 1856-57 and £2,148,834 in 1857-58. Excluding the duty in imported salt, the customs revenue was £978,736 in 1856-57 and £1,030,202 in 1857-58. The income derived from customs was a little over 3 per cent. of the total revenue of the country.

Under the pre-British system of administration, inland transit duties were levied in almost all parts of India. Not only did the ruling authority exercise this right, but many of the great zemindars levied tolls on merchandise passing through their territories. When the Company acquired possessions in India, the old system was retained for some time, and duties

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by the Act of 1797 and prohibit all importations on foreign vessels into the ports of British India from the United Kingdom and British Possessions generally, and from any ports whatever in Asia, or on the coast of Africa. *Vide* Parliamentary Papers No. 147 of 1852.

[1] In a Minute recorded by Sir Thomas Maddock, Acting President of the Council of India, he stated that he was prepared to concur in an enactment to declare the coasting trade absolutely free. He was also strongly in favour of the abolition of export duties on the staple products of India which were already heavily taxed in the shape of rent on the lands on which they were produced, which would be greatly benefited by the proposed measure. In his opinion, it was desirable for the government to encourage the production of silk, sugar, cotton, saltpetre, food grains, and indigo. He, however, did not consider it desirable to make any difference between indigo and other articles, as Java, Brazil and some other countries had already begun to compete with India in the trade in that article. The only difficulty was a financial one. Mr. Millet, a member of the Council of India, agreed with the President in most of his observations.

of varying amounts were levied at almost every stage of the journey. Gradually, these various tolls were commuted for one general duty payable at the nearest station to the place whence the goods were despatched, and a *rowana* or permit was issued by the Collector authorising the goods to pass without payment of any further dues. The goods were, however, liable to examination all along the route, and the consequent delay and vexation were great. Besides the duties, there were illegal exactions by the collecting officers. The entire system was oppressive, particularly to the small merchants, and impeded, in no small measure, the development of internal trade.[1]

Inland duties were generally levied *ad valorem*. The duties on salt, tobacco, and a few minor articles were, however, subject to payment according to quantity, while those on silk and indigo were levied according to a fixed valuation. The work of appraising was a matter of no small difficulty: and in cases where articles, like piece-goods, had to be valued by poorly paid officers, considerable amount of corruption prevailed.

Goods imported by sea passed free in the interior, whether an import duty was leviable or not. The inland duty was, either wholly or in part, repaid on goods for exportation. The system of drawbacks, however, led to much inconvenience. The collection of inland duties was in many districts farmed. Under this system there was less smuggling, and the cost of superintendence was saved. But it led to much extortion.

Let us now discuss some of the details concerning these inland duties as they were found in the different provinces. In Bengal, in 1772, the zemindari *chaukis*, where transit duties were exacted were abolished, and only the government *chaukis* were retained. The duties levied on goods operated partly as customs and partly as transit duties. All transit duties were abolished during the administration of Lord Cornwallis;

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[1] *Vide* Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1832-33.

but were re-imposed in a modified form in 1807. Under the provisions of Bengal Regulation IX of 1810, a large number of articles including cotton yarn and piece-goods, silk-goods, embroidered goods and brocades, betel-nut, drugs and gums, paid a transit duty of 7½ per cent. *ad valorem*. Woollens, gold and silver tissues, indigo, sugar, or gur, paid 5 per cent. A specific duty of Rs. 7 per maund was levied on iron and steel at the nearest customs house on the frontier. Goods which had once paid the prescribed duties were not liable to any further duties in passing through the provinces. By Regulation XVII of 1810, a transit duty was levied on all salt, not being salt purchased at the Company's sales in Calcutta at the following rates: Lahore salt, 1 rupee per maund; Balumba salt, 12 annas; Salumba salt, 8 annas; any other alimentary salt, 4 annas. In 1815-16, the gross collections amounted to Rs. 2,19,358 (£21,935).

In 1825, Holt Mackenzie submitted a memorandum in which he pointed out the many objections which existed to the collection of inland transit duties, and urged their abolition. These duties, in his opinion, not only caused great vexation, but imposed on trade a very heavy tax in the shape of delay and illicit exactions. Some articles had to run the gauntlet through ten customs-houses before they reached their destination, and few of the staple commodities of the country escaped subjection to repeated detention. The burden of the government duty, he wrote, of five or seven and half per cent. was itself a heavy one, but when to this was added the illegal demands of customs-house officers, it became almost prohibitive to the merchant who did business on a small scale.

The subject again attracted attention a few years later. In 1834, Charles Trevelyan submitted a report on the customs and inland duties in the Bengal Presidency. In the following year, Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, invited the earnest attention of the Court of Directors of the Company to this Report. In the course of this letter, Lord Ellenborough pointed out that no less than 235 articles were subjected to inland duties and that the tariff included almost everything of personal or domestic use. The operation of the system, combined with the practice of search, was extremely vaxatious and offensive, without materially benefiting the revenue. And its effect was virtually to prohibit the manufacture in towns of all articles not absolutely required for their own consumption, to confine manufactures to the place where raw material was produced, and by such restrictions to depress the productive industry of the people. "It is a system," added Lord Ellenborough, "which demoralises our own people, and which appears to excite the aversion of all the foreign traders of Asia."[1]

A few days later, the Board of Control requested the Court of Directors to send instructions to the Governor-General in Council asking the latter to take immediate measures for delivering the internal traffic of the British territories from all obstruction to which they were at that time exposed by town and transit duties and to enter into engagements with the Indian princes for the purpose of extending beyond the British frontiers entire freedom of commercial intercourse.[2]

Not long after, a Committee was appointed by the Government of India for the purpose of investigating the system in force for levying exports, imports, and transit duties in the three Presidencies. While the Committee was pursuing its enquiry, A. Ross, officiating Governor of Agra, was induced on a representation from the Board of Revenue of that Presidency, to abolish the Bareilly, Cawnpur and Farukhabad customs houses. The Governor-General in Council expressed his disapprobation of the precipitancy with which this measure, involving a serious reduction of resources, had been adopted, without previous consultation with the Supreme Government. However desirable the change might be, he thought it was ill-timed. Besides, the measure placed the Governments of India and Bengal in a very difficult position. Two courses were now open to the Government of India, namely, first to rescind the orders of the Governor of Agra, or secondly, to carry the policy further by abolishing the internal customs-houses in the Bengal Presidency. The first course was open to serious objection, for it would not only have been extremely unwise to restore a system which could not be maintained permanently, but would have exhibited an instability of purpose on the part of the government. The second course was in accordance with the views of the Court of Directors and in consonance with the sound principles of trade. After due deliberation, this course was chosen. The Court of Directors, on this occasion, took a very serious view of the conduct of Mr. Ross, and directed that the administration of the Agra province should never again be delegated to him in any circumstances.[1]

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[1] Letter of Lord Ellenborough to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, dated 18th March, 1835. He further remarked that the system of internal taxation was inferior to the system of every state in Asia, with the single exception of Lahore.

[2] Letter, dated the 4th April, 1835.

Judging the matter in a reasonable spirit, the impartial critic would perhaps observe that although Mr. Ross was wrong in method, he was right in substance. It cannot be denied that to him belongs the credit of having taken the first active step towards the ideal of freeing the trade of the country from the most undesirable impediments. The effects of the measure were quite good. Not only was the North-Western province rid of a serious evil, but it hastened the repeal of the duties in the other provinces.

By Act XIV of 1836 all inland customs and town duties were abolished throughout the Presidency of Bengal. The question, however, with which the Government was now faced was, how was the deficiency in revenue to be made up? In order to fill the gap, the Governor-General in Council decided to adopt a revised scale of import and export duties.

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[1] Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council, dated the 1st February, 1837. In a Minute, dated the 17th April, 1837, Mr. Ross adduced arguments to justify his action, and used the following significant words : "Much as I regret having incurred the displeasure of the Court, I cannot but derive very great satisfaction from having made the first effective movement towards their realisation."

The transit duties in the Presidency of Bombay were abolished in 1836, and sea and frontier duties substituted. In order to cover a portion of the loss arising from the abolition of the transit duties, a customs and excise duty of 8 annas per maund was levied on salt. This, however, proved insufficient to make good the loss.

In the Madras Presidency, in the early years of the Company's rule, the inland duty was 2½ per cent.[1] The income derived from inland customs amounted to 19,285 pagodas in 1767-68, but, twelve years later, it fell to 14,694 pagodas. By Madras Regulation I of 1812, a general inland duty was levied at the rate of 5 per cent. on a large number of specified articles. This duty was payable once only, and the certificate of such payment enabled the goods to pass free by land throughout the territories under the Presidency, except into the limits of the town of Madras or into the provinces of Canara and Malabar. In the former case, they were liable to the further payment of the town duty, and in the latter, to the duty prescribed under special rules. Cotton and cotton thread were declared exempt from duty, except on exportation by the land frontier to the territories of the Indian powers or foreign European settlements. In the one case they were charged with the aggregate duty of 8 per cent., and in the other case with the duty to which they would be liable if exported on foreign vessels by sea. Grain of all kinds was also exempted from duty, except on exportation by the land frontier or when entering the foreign European settlements, in which case it was charged with a duty of 3 per cent. Articles of European import, sold at the Company's sales, as also goods which were the property of the Company, were allowed to pass free.

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[1] *Vide* Letter from the President and Council at Fort St. George to the Court of Directors, dated the 9th January, 1781.

The abolition of the inland duties in the North-Western Province, Bengal and Bombay paved the way for the adoption of a similar measure for the Madras Presidency. These duties which yielded in 1843-44 about 30 lakhs were abolished by Act VI of 1844. In newly-acquired territories, the inland and frontier duties were abolished soon after acquisition.

Tolls were charged on boats passing along certain channels of internal communication. These levies caused vexation and abuse, and impeded the trade of the country. But they were less objectionable than other forms of transit duty. They were abolished along with the other inland duties.

We now come to another class of taxes which were akin to the inland customs, namely, the town duties. They were originally levied for local improvements, but were afterwards merged in the general revenues of the country everywhere except in the city of Madras.

The Calcutta customs levied in the early days of the Company have already been noticed. These were, in reality, town duties. They were collected by the Company in virtue of their ancient factorial rights.[1] The rates were, four per cent. on imports by sea, with some exceptions, and on gruff articles imported by land, and two per cent. on land imports consisting of piece-goods and cotton. The duties were levied whether the goods imported were for local consumption or for the purpose of subsequent export. In 1795, the Calcutta customs were abolished. Town duties were established by regulations enacted in 1801 for the Lower Provinces and Benares and in 1805 for the Upper Provinces. The number of articles subjected to these duties exceeded sixty, many of which were also subject to payment of customs duties. These regulations were found objectionable and much inconvenience was felt from the system of successive collections. In 1810, the regulations were revised. By Bengal Regulation X of that year, a town duty was levied at the rates and on the articles specified below on the importation of those articles for sale, store, or consumption into any of the cities and towns, namely, Calcutta, Benares, Murshidabad, Patna, Dacca, Agra, Farukhabad, Allahabad, Bareilly, Midnapur, Burdwan, Hughli, Krishnagore, Jessore, Natore, Dinajpur, Comilla, Islamabad, Nasirabad, Rangpur, Purnea, Sylhet, Bhagalpur, Mazaffarpur, Chapra, Arrah, Gaya, Mirzapur, Gorakhpur, Banda, Cawnpur, Mainpuri-Koel, Moradabad, and Meerut.

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[1] As Harrington points out, the Calcutta customs were entirely distinct from the "Government customs." The latter were imposed by the company "under the authority of the Dewani grant, and in conformity with former usage, as exercising a delegated power of sovereignty within the province specified." Analysis of the Bengal Regulations.

Articles.	*Rate of Duty.*
Grain, *viz.*, rice, wheat and barley	2½ per cent.
Gram and pulses	5 ,, ,,
Oil and oil seeds	5 ,, ,,
Sugar, including jaggree and molasses ...	5 ,, ,,
Ghee	10 ,, ,,
Tobacco	10 ,, ,,
Betel-nut	10 ,, ,,
Turmeric	5 ,, ,,
Charcoal and fire-wood	5 ,, ,,

(*Levied on importation into Calcutta only.*)

By the same Regulation, a duty was also levied on the importation of salt, not being salt purchased at the Company's sales at Calcutta, into Benares, Agra, Farukhabad, Allahabad, Bareilly, Mirzapur, Gorakhpur, Banda, Cawnpur, Mainpuri-Koel, Moradabad, and Meerut at the following rates :—

On Lahore salt	1 rupee per maund
Sambur or Doodawree	8 annas ,,
Balumbar or any other alimentary salt ...	4 annas ,,

The total gross collections in 1814-15 from the cities and towns of the Upper and Lower Provinces of Bengal amounted to a little over four and a half lakhs of rupees, the net collections being somewhat above four lakhs. The largest sum was derived from Calcutta amounting to over a lakh of rupees.[1] All town duties were abolished in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces in 1836.

The town duty levied in the city of Madras was originally very small. In 1767-68, the proceeds amounted to only 259 pagodas. The collection of duty seems to have ceased in 1777-78. Mention is found of another sort of collection in Madras city known as town brokerage, the amount of which varied from 300 pagodas in 1767-68 to 700 pagodas in 1779-80. By Regulation III of 1812, piece-goods imported by land into the town of Madras, or manufactured within the limits of the land customs-house *chaukis*, were made liable to payment of a duty of 8 per cent. on the market value of such goods. Piece-goods imported into, or manufactured in, the city for the consumption of the place, usually classed under the term pattanatiram, which exceeded in value 20 star pagodas per corge, were subject to an additional duty of 2 per cent., making a total of 10 per cent. If the piece-goods had already paid the inland duty, they were entitled to a drawback of the amount of the duty, on production of the certificate of payment. All articles of dress imported into or manufactured within the town limits, for the consumption of the place, the value of which did not exceed 20 star pagodas per corge paid only 3 per cent. duty, and the production of the certificate of payment of the inland duty entitled such goods to a drawback of the whole amount of the duty. Besides, a list of gruff duties was prepared by the Board of Revenue, on which duties at rates not exceeding 10 per cent. were levied, subject to deduction in case of payment of the inland duty. Duties were also imposed on betel, tobacco, gudauk, bhang, ganja, and opium at different rates, and no drawback was allowed even if accompanied by rawanas showing payment of the inland duties. Duties were levied on areca-nut according to the quantity of the article, at 20, 16, and 12 per cent., respectively.

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[1] The exact amount was S. R. 1,09,080. Benares came second with S. R. 65,677 ; Mirzapur third, with S. R. 61,363, the collections from Murshidabad were S. R. 37,393 : from Patna S. R. 22,647. The smallest amount was collected from Chittagong, namely, S. R. 132.—Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations.

Under the provisions of Regulation I of 1803, a duty of one rupee per Surat candy was levied on all cotton imported into the town of Bombay, whether in bales or dooras, without any drawback on re-exportation. A duty at the rate of 4 per cent. was levied on a large variety of goods, such as oil, ghee, betel-nut, tobacco, shawls, sugar, gur, candles, piece-goods, saltpetre, and spices. Some of these varieties of goods, when imported for the purpose of being wholly or in part exported, were allowed to be warehoused without paying the town duty. Liquors, whether in casks or in bottles, were liable to duty at varying rates according to kind and quality.

These duties ceased to be in force in 1815, but were re-established in 1820, with certain alterations. In 1827, further alterations were made in the system of town duties in Bombay. Tobacco for internal consumption or exportation was made liable to a duty of three rupees per Bombay maund, and no drawback was allowed except on exportation to the United Kingdom. The same duty was levied at every port within the Presidency, in addition to the established customs. The rates of duty, hitherto leviable both at Bombay and the districts, on spirits were abolished, and were to be regulated by the orders of the government for each place respectively, but were in no case to exceed one rupee one quarter and forty reas per gallon.

Taxes were levied in the town of Surat on various trades engaged in the manufacture of silk cloths, at the following rates: raw silk dealers, Rs. 4,375; silk spinners, 1,880; brocade manufacturers, at Rs. 2 per piece, about Rs. 3,500; putola silk, Rs. 700; elacha stuff, Rs. 600; kinareewallas, Rs. 800; total Rs. 11,855. These were abolished by Regulation XVII of 1830, and, in lieu thereof, a town duty of four rupees per Surat maund was levied upon the import of the raw material into Surat. The annual payment of Rs. 15, hitherto collected from each member of the rice-beaters' panchayet who cleaned rice for sale, was also abolished, and, in lieu thereof, a town duty of two annas per bera of seven Surat maunds, was levied on the import of the article into Surat, whether by land or sea. Lastly, an import town duty of five per cent. was levied on betel-nut and paper imported into the city of Surat.

Act XIX of 1844 repealed all these duties. The main provision of the Act was in these words :

> " It is hereby enacted that from the 1st day of October 1844 all town duties, *kusub veras*, *moturfas*, ballootee taxes, and cesses of every kind on trades and professions, under whatever name levied within the Presidency of Bombay, and not forming part of the land revenue, shall be abolished."

Abkari (a Persian word which means the manufacture of water) was a tax imposed by the rulers of India upon the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs. During the early days of the East India Company, the old system was continued.

When the sayer collections were resumed in Bengal from the landholders in 1790, it was deemed expedient to continue and extend the abkari duties. The various rules and orders issued in regard to these were embodied in a Regulation in 1793. This regulation was amended in 1800. In 1813, all the rules and regulations respecting the manufacture and sale of liquors and drugs were consolidated.

The *abkari* taxes were assessed by the collectors. They included the produce of the arrack and toddy taxes, and sometimes the collections on pepper and betel were also placed under this head. The duty on spirits in the three Presidencies, and those on the retail sale of opium and other intoxicating drugs, were chiefly levied by means of licenses to open shops. These licenses were generally put up to auction and granted to the highest bidders. There was, besides, a still-head duty on spirits manufactured in the English fashion.[1] The *abkari* was thus a mixed system of excise and licenses.

Till the year 1829, the collectors of land revenue in Bengal received a commission on the amount of their *abkari* collections. But in that year this inducement was withdrawn, and the nominal control of the department was transferred to the Board of Salt, Opium and Customs in the Presidency. This change, however, led to a falling off in the revenue. The abkari collections in Bengal, Behar and Orissa in 1829-30 amounted to Rs. 20,27,356, but the average of the seven years from 1833-34 to 1839-40 was only Rs. 15,19,713. In 1840, an Act was passed for placing the superintendence of the department in certain districts under a Commissioner and for providing rules for the collection of the revenue. The new system proved satisfactory from a financial point of view.

The income derived from *arrack* and *toddy* licenses in the Madras Presidency was 14,158 pagodas in 1767-68. It rose to 17,567 pagodas in 1779-80.[2] The subsequent history of excise revenue, in this as well as the Bombay Presidency, is one of slow but steady expansion.

The income derived from this source from the whole of India, including excise duties in Calcutta, was £966,034 in 1856-57 and £843,995 in 1857-58. It thus amounted to a little over 3 per cent. of the total income of the Government. The revenue realised in these years was several times as large as that obtained in the early period of the Company's administration. The increase in the yield of *abkari* duties was attributed partly to more active management, partly to the measures taken for better regulating the retail of opium, but chiefly to the increase of population. In reality, however, it was due in no small measure to the greater prevalence of the drink habit among the people.

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[1] In 1832, the still-head duty was six-sixteenths of a rupee, London proof.

[2] From the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1782.

As for the character of this branch of the public revenue, the Select Committee of 1832 found that this tax was collected with less expense and less peculation than many others and that it caused little complaint. In the evidence given before the Lords' Committee of 1852-53 it was represented as a great moral evil connected with the British Government. It was asserted that it created drunkenness among a sober people. The effect of the *abkari* system was also said to injure the moral character of the troops. As the general test of a good officer of the department was believed to be the amount of revenue he was able to raise from this source, the result was an encouragement of one of the worst vices. It was also pointed out that the principal evil of the arrangement was that the police, who ought to have been the guardians of order and sobriety, had an interest in a large consumption of spirits.[1]

There was a monopoly in tobacco in certain parts of the Madras Presidency, namely, Coimbatore, Canara, and Malabar.[2] The cultivation was permitted only in Coimbatore. The raiyats entered into engagements to deliver tobacco of approved quality into the government stores at fixed prices. The article was then sent to Malabar and Canara and delivered out to licensed dealers at enhanced rates, the excess of profit above the cost of the article constituting the revenue. These districts were easily accessible only by particular land routes or by sea, which circumstance afforded facilities for the collection of a considerable revenue from tobacco that did not exist elsewhere. The monopoly, in the first instance, raised the price to the consumer by 300 or 400 per cent., and owing to abuses in management, often by as much as 700 or 800 per cent. Representations having been made to the government, the monopoly price was slightly reduced in 1816. The Select Committee of 1832 expressed the opinion that by the operation of this system, the poorer classes were deprived of the legal use of a commodity which, in the moist climate of Malabar, was considered a necessary of life. The consequence was that smugglers often traversed the country, plundering wherever they went, and occasionally overpowering the police. Instances were on record of whole villages having been burnt by them when the raiyats refused to sell the tobacco. There was great increase of crime and fraud. The consumption of tobacco had, among an increasing population, decreased by more than 40 per cent. since the introduction of the monopoly. The limited operation of the impost was another objection urged agaist it.[1]

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[1] Minutes of Evidence before the Lords Committee, 1853.

[2] The income derived from betel-nut and tobacco farms was 26,502 pagodas in 1767-68. It gradually increased, and amounted to £42,042 in 1779-80. Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1782.

An injustice incidental to the monopoly was also noticed by the Select Committee of 1833. The land revenue in Coimbatore, derived from lands which yielded tobacco, was fixed in 1800 with reference to the unrestricted cultivation and free sale of the commodity. In 1812, however, the government prohibited its cultivation, except under license, and in quantities and prices fixed by themselves; but no alteration was made in the assessment of the land revenue.[2] In 1844-45, the yield of the tobacco impost was Rs. 8,26,044 ; in 1852 it was about six lakhs. In the latter year, the monopoly was abolished and the tax ceased.

A stamp duty was first levied in Bengal in 1797. The object was to make good the deficiency in the public revenue caused by the abolition of the police tax. The revenue derived from this source during the first year of its imposition was only £1,975. Originally, stamps were used mainly in connection with legal proceedings.[3] But their use was afterwards extended

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[1] Report from the Select Committee, 1832-33.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Parliamentary Papers No. 147 of 1852.

The following rates were fixed : Law papers, one rupee, eight annas, four annas, and two annas, according to the size of the paper; pleadings, four annas, eight annas, one rupee, or two rupees; copies of judicial papers, one rupee, eight annas, or four annas, according to the size; copies of revenue papers, the same rates as judicial papers; obligations to monetary transactions. Licenses for the manufacture or vend of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs were also ordered to be drawn upon stamped paper. The amount realised from the stamp duties having proved inadequate, new rates were fixed in 1800, and the use of stamped paper was further extended. Further modifications and additions were made in 1806, 1807, 1809, 1812, and 1813. In 1814, the old rules were rescinded, and increased rates were fixed. On this occasion, transactions in Calcutta, which, excepting pleadings and miscellaneous papers in the Sadar Adalats and the government offices, had been previously exempt, were made subject to the duty. The tax was also extended to the ceded and conquered provinces. In 1824, the rules relating to their use were remodelled, and the obligation of the use of stamped paper was extended to bills of exchange, notes of hand, receipts, and other documents. Bills of exchange under Rs. 25 and receipts under Rs. 50 were exempt. The use of stamped paper gradually became more general, and the revenue derived therefrom steadily increased. One of the recommendations in favour of this impost was that, in consequence of the legal obligation requiring all transfers to be made on stamped paper, the great Indian capitalists, who made no other contribution to the State resources, were included under the operation of this tax. The department of stamps was in charge of a superintendent who was responsible to the Board of Salt, Opium and Customs. The actual sale of stamps was in the hands of licensed vendors.

In Madras, stamp duties were imposed in 1808, chiefly on legal proceedings. In 1816, they were extended to commercial dealings such as bonds, bills of exchange and receipts, as also to deeds, leases and mortgages. The revenue, however, derived from this source in this Presidency, was stationary. An incidental benefit derived from this tax was that the use of

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for money, namely, bonds, promissory notes, etc., four annas, eight annas, or one rupee; customs house rowanas, from four annas to ten rupees; sanads to kazis, twenty-five rupees.—Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations.

stamped paper tended to check the forgery of deeds and documents of all kinds.

A stamp tax was established in the Bombay Presidency in 1815. The city of Bombay, which was within the jurisdiction of the King's Courts was, like the cities of Calcutta and Madras, exempted.[1] Views of contrary sorts were held in regard to the nature of the stamp duties. The official view was that the effect was salutary, inasmuch as stamps tended to check litigation. On the other hand, it was said that they were a burden on poor litigants, and impeded the course of justice.

The revenue derived from stamps increased slowly but steadily, particularly in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. In 1856-57, the stamp revenue for the whole of India was £612,788. In the following year, it fell to £456,363. In the last year of the Company's rule, the income derived from this source amounted to over 1·6 per cent. of the total revenue of the country.

The pilgrim tax was insignificant as a source of revenue, but it is a subject of interest, not merely from the nature of the imposition, but also the controversy it gave rise to. A certain sum per head was collected from pilgrims resorting to many of the temples of India. Besides, the offerings which the devotees brought with them were subjected to a toll, being divided in certain proportions between the officiating priest and the renter of tolls. Fixed sums were also demanded of those who wished to perform the various penances, while no shops or stalls were allowed to be erected during these festivals without payment of fees. In the Madras Presidency, no pilgrim taxes were collected by any public regulation, but the offerings made by pilgrims at the great temples were, conformably to ancient usage, applied to the service of the State, after defraying therefrom the expenses of the temples.[2]

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[1] *Vide* Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company and Parliamentary Papers No. 147 of 1852.

[2] Report from Select Committee, 1832-33.

In 1804 and 1805, regulations were enacted for the protection of pilgrims visiting Jagannath from undue exactions on the part of the officers of the temple or of the government. It was provided that the same tax should be levied as had been done under the Mahratta government. The general superintendence of the collection was vested in the Board of Revenue at Calcutta. The rates levied on different classes of pilgrims and the persons exempted from payment were specified, and the mode of administering the tax was laid down. Modifications were made in these regulations in 1806 and 1809. In 1810, regulations were enacted for the collection of duties from pilgrims resorting to the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Jumna at Allahabad. The tax previously collected was continued, and the rate was specified. The collection was placed under the direction of the Collector of revenue at Allahabad.

As early as 1809, Mr. Harington, a high government officer, had recorded a Minute against the levy of pilgrim taxes generally, and urged their entire abolition whenever the state of the finances should permit. In 1814, the Commissioner of Cuttack, strongly urged the abolition of the Jagannath pilgrim tax. The government, however, accepted the arguments in favour of the continuance of the tax. The subject was again considered in 1827, and on this occasion also, the government considered it desirable to continue the tax. In the meantime, the principle of the tax had excited much reprobation in England. In 1829, the Governor-General consulted the officers in charge of the districts in which the tax was levied. Their opinions varied, but the Governor-General, while considering the principle of the tax as objectionable, thought it inexpedient to repeal it. In 1831, the Governor-General again referred to the subject, and in a minute, dated the 25th March, after briefly stating the conflicting opinions that had been entertained, he observed that he deemed it the bounden duty of a government ruling over Hindu and Mahomedan communities to protect and aid them in the exercise of their harmless religious rites; and he thought that places of pilgrimage, and persons who frequented them, were entitled to the special care of the government. He, therefore, considered a tax on pilgrims as just and expedient, and he thought it proper that the income derived from this source should be first applied to the repair of temples and the surplus, spent in constructing roads and serais.

In 1833, the Court of Directors in a despatch to the Governor-General in Council, fully discussed the question and formulated the following conclusions: First, that the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of temples, in the customs, habits and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rights and festivals, and generally, in the conduct of their internal economy, must cease; secondly, that the pilgrim tax should everywhere be abolished; thirdly, that fines and offerings should no longer be considered as sources of revenue to the British Government, and they should consequently no longer be collected or received by the servants of the East India Company; fourthly, that no servant of the Company should hereafter be engaged in the collection or management or custody of moneys in the nature of fines or offerings, under whatsoever name they might be known, or in whatever manner obtained, whether furnished in cash or kind; fifthly, that no servant of the Company should hereafter derive any emolument resulting from the above-mentioned or any similar sources; sixthly, that in matters relating to these temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, the Indian subjects of His Majesty should be left entirely to themselves; seventhly, that in every case in which it would be found necessary to keep a police force specially with a view to the peace and security of the pilgrims or the worshippers, such police should hereafter be maintained out of the general revenues of the country.[1]

The Directors observed, however, that much caution and many gradations would be necessary in acting on the conclusions at which they had arrived. Further correspondence between the Governor-General in Council and the authorities in England followed. In 1839, the Governor-General in Council, in a resolution dated the 11th March, referred to the anxious desire of the Court of Directors regarding the abolition of the pilgrim tax and the discontinuance of the connection of the government with the management of all funds assigned for the support of religious institutions in India, and proposed to carry this desire into effect in the Presidency of Bengal at once. Accordingly, in 1840, a law was enacted by which all taxes and fees payable by pilgrims resorting to Allahabad, Gaya, and Jagannath, were abolished.[1]

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[1] Parliamentary Papers, No. 261 of 1839.

Of the less important sources of revenue, the most widely known tax was *sair*. The term was, however, one of somewhat variable import. In the report of the Bengal Revenue Commissioners of 1776-78, *sair* was described as consisting of "such rents and profits as are uncertain in their amount, and annually liable to considerable variations." Under this head were often included duties collected on the "merchandise passing through the country or sold in the markets, rents of lakes or of ferries, and fees paid by brokers or weighers."[2] On the 11th June, 1790, the '*sair*' duties were resumed by the Government of Bengal, and it was laid down that no landholder, or other person of whatever description, should be allowed in future to collect any tax or duty of any denomination, but that all taxes should be levied on the part of the government and collected by officers appointed for the purpose.[1] As, however, these duties were of a very vexatious nature, it was decided on the 28th July, 1790, to abolish all duties, taxes and other collections coming under the denomination of '*sair*,' with the exception of the government and Calcutta customs, pilgrim taxes, the *abkari* tax, collections made in the ganjes, bazars and *hats*, and rents paid to landholders under the denomination of *phalkar*, *bankar*, and *jalkar*. Compensations were granted on a calculation of the average net produce in past years.[2] Persons exacting any taxes contrary to these regulations might be prosecuted before the courts.[3]

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[1] Market duties were collected in Calcutta. The markets were of two descriptions. The majority of them belonged to individuals who paid a certain *jama* or assessment to the government, the amount of which being fixed either in perpetuity or for long periods. The collective assessment of such markets was Rs. 10,030 in 1790. Other bazârs which were held on ground belonging to the Company, were let in farm. The annual sum realised from such markets was Rs. 7,685. The regular colletions in a bazar consisted of a rent called *te-bazari* and a *tolah* paid daily by each of the vendors for the privilege of retailing articles. There were, besides, certain irregular collections, such as these derived from certain monopolies, road duties, and *touldari* (weighman's fees). Some of these collections were abolished early, but others continued as late as 1788. Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations, Vol. III.

[2] Extract from the Report of Anderson, Croftes and Bogle in Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations, Vol. III.

Even after the abolition of the duty, the term was retained in the Finance Department. The revenue derived from saltpetre in Tirhut was considered a '*sair*' collection. The collections at Gaya and other places of pilgrimage were often included under this head. In Madras, the transit duties were often designated as 'sair duties.' A small amount of revenue was derived from cardamom, one of the products of the hills of Malabar, Canara, and Coorg.[4] In fact, all inconsiderable collections from miscellaneous sources were brought under this general head. In the Bombay Presidency, originally, a great variety of *sair* was collected. The income consisted of all items of demand not forming any portion of the land revenue or the revenue derived from customs or salt.

The '*sair*' duties were abolished in most of the provinces in 1844. The abolition gave great relief to the people. The revenue collected under this head during the year 1857-58 was only £268,360.

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[1] No monthly or annual payments of the nature of rents were understood to be within this prohibition. The collectors, in resuming ganjes, *hats* and bazars were instructed to carefully attend to this distinction.

[2] Harington's Analysis of the Bengal Regulations, Vol. III.

[3] In 1792, the courts were given power to decree a refund of the amount exacted and to impose a heavy fine. In 1805, they were also empowered to sentence the offender to rigorous imprisonment.

[4] The collection was farmed to the highest bidder by the government.

In the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, there were two other taxes of a very vexatious nature, namely, moturfa and bullooteh. The former was of Mahomedan origin, and was a tax on trades and professions. It embraced in the Madras Presidency all weavers, carpenters, workers in metals, and salesmen.[1] Originally, it was confined to certain parts of the Presidency, but it was made general in 1832. The rates, however, varied from district to district. It fell more heavily upon the poor than upon the wealthy; while the discretionary power under which it was collected afforded a wide field for the practice of inquisitorial visits and extortion.[2] The impost was thus a very oppressive one. The revenue derived from this source sometimes formed part of the item 'small farms and licenses,' and sometimes was shown under the head 'customs.' Bullooteh was a tax levied upon the fees in kind received by the village artisans from the cultivators. Moturfa and bullooteh were abolished in the Bombay Presidency in 1844, but they did not cease to be levied in Madras until after the assumption of the government of India by the Crown. In 1857-58, the moturfa tax yielded a revenue of £107,826.

There were, besides, numerous small cesses, which varied from place to place. Under the old village system they were collected by the *patel*, part going to the government and part to the village officers. When the raiyatwari system was abolished, these cesses were commuted into a money payment, which caused considerable oppression and inconvenience. Some amount of "extra revenue" was also realised, particularly in the Madras Presidency, under the head "small farms and licenses." This consisted in the annual leasing out to individuals of certain privileges, such as the right of measuring grain and other articles, the right to the sweepings of goldsmiths' workshops, the right of grazing cattle, ruby brokerage, etc. These small farms and licenses were a source of great oppression to the people.[1]

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[1] It seems the tax was levied whether the salesmen possessed shops, which were also taxed separately, or vended by the road side. The tax extended to the most trifling articles of trade and the cheapest tools the mechanics might employ. *Vide* a Petition from Madras Association. Appendix D to the Report of the Lords' Committee, 1853.

[2] *Ibid.*

Some amount of income was derived in every province from undertakings of a commercial character. The Government of Bengal, for instance, worked stone quarries at Chunar, Ghazipur and Mirzapur. In 1799, these quarries were thrown open to the public, subject to payment of certain duties.

Among the miscellaneous taxes was a wheel tax. It was levied on hackeries, carts, buggies and chariots in Bombay. The Select Committee of 1832-33 observed that in a country where capital was so scarce and implements so rude, a tax on peasants' carts could scarcely be so low as not to be oppressive and at the same time be worth the trouble of collection.

Taxes were, on some occasions, levied for special purposes. In Bengal, a police tax was levied in 1793. It was imposed on Indian merchants, traders and shopkeepers throughout Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The system of assessment was this. The collectors annually estimated the total amount of the tax that would be required for the support of the police in each district or city, and assessed it proportionately on the several *parganas* and wards. They appointed Indian assessors to determine the amount payable by each merchant or shopkeeper in the *pargana* or ward. An appeal against the assessment lay to the civil court. Difficulties were, however, experienced in determining what persons were liable to be taxed under this Regulation, and in fixing the general amount and the individual proportions of the tax. Fraud and exaction took place in the assessment and collection of the tax in numerous cases. It was, therefore, resolved in 1797 to abolish the tax.

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[1] Petition from the Madras Indians' Association, Appendix D to the Report of Lords' Committee, 1853.

For purely local purposes also, taxes were sometimes imposed. In Calcutta, there was a tax on houses. In 1813, it was resolved to levy a similar tax in some of the towns of the Lower and Upper Provinces of Bengal. But it was regarded as an innovation, and was strongly opposed. At Benares, it led to a movement of passive resistance, and the tax was withdrawn. Soon afterwards, however, it was successfully introduced in a modified form in several towns. A resistance was offered at Bareilly, which was quelled.[1]

This review of Indian taxation must have struck the reader with wonder at the simplicity and absence of variety of the system, considering the vast extent of country it comprised and the period of nearly a century it covered. The number of taxes which yielded any substantial revenue to the State was surprisingly small, and but little was attempted in the nature of experiment in the art of tax-gathering. The reason, however, is not far to seek. A British official of large Indian experience rightly observed :[2]

> "In such a country and with such a people, there is little choice left to the financier. Where the millions live almost entirely on the produce of their rice fields, with only a rag about their middle, and a few brass pots for their house-hold goods, there is no very extensive field for the display of financial ingenuity. There are fifty different ways in which the English tax-gatherer may get at the poor man. But in India the approaches to the mud hut of the labourer are few; and the tax-gatherer must advance by them or keep away altogether. He has been going a long time along the same beaten roads."

PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

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[1] For accounts of the two movements at Benares and Bareilly, see Wilson, History of India, Vols. I and II.

[2] Kaye, History of the Administration of the East India Company, pp. 421-423.

Reviews

Indian Day, by Edward Thompson (Alfred A. Knoff, London: Price 7*s*. 6*d*.). Those who want adventures and thrills will be disappointed in this book because it describes the everyday existence of English officials in a remote corner of India. The book is distinctly one with a purpose as all Thompson's works seem to be (I have not forgotten his *Atonement*); and the purpose is to show that in spite of all differences of the exterior, Indian and English are one ; that is illustrated by the two strong men, Jayananda and Findlay " coming from the ends of the earth " and "standing face to face," after the latter has had his illumination. But I think many English readers would not like Mr. Thompson's remarks on their blatant jingoism which they miscall " philanthropy " or " patriotism." Nor would, I am afraid, many Indians like the author for depicting the cad Deogharia or the oily scoundrels the Raja and his brother. He has trodden on the corns of both parties, but he has done so with an insight into their natures and a freshness of candour and a sly humour which makes the reader smile in spite of himself. The pen-pictures of nature in India in all her varied moods rise to poetic levels and the language is superb. I wonder why the notice on the cover tries to make out Hamar to be the hero. Is it because like the usual " hero " in a novel he woos Hilda and wins her in the end? My opinion, however, is that Findlay is the real hero of the book. He gave all he had and through mortal agony achieved the glory of following his friend and master. His words, as he strides down the hill after his burden has fallen from him, form a most noble prayer:

"O Lord, my father, my friend! I thank thee for my brother the sun. I thank thee for my brother this hill, for this glorious jungle, for this ridiculous stone idol, for this golden world that thou hast made! I thank thee for my brethren the children of men, whom I am striding to meet."

Mr. Thompson is one of the many Englishmen (happily ever increasing in numbers) who try to look below the surface of outward appearances. They scratch an Indian and find—a brother. And it is these Englishmen who build up and preserve the Empire as well as any of " the great Pro-Consuls." They look beyond the pettinesses and shams of Indian officialdom and try to realise the truth of Vedanta, which they have learnt in the land they have so well loved and served.

BOOKWORM

Essays and Criticisms, by Syamacharan Ganguli, B.A., Hony. Fellow, Calcutta University, and late Principal, Uttarpara College. Published by Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, pp. xiv, 270. Price Re. 1-12, 1927.

This is a collection of fifteen articles on various topics previously contributed to first-class magazines from 1877 on, and much appreciated in their day. It speaks highly of the author's mettle that even now in his ninetieth year he has been loyal to the teacher's vocation and has thought of publishing these fruits of his ripe experience for the education of the public. The very first essay in the series, " Bengali, Spoken and Written," written just fifty years ago retains its freshness and original interest as if it had been penned to-day. The second essay, the article on " self-determination," particularly demonstrates the independence of the author's views. It is not necessary to introduce each essay in its turn, but it may be safely asserted that these articles in their racy, commonsense, vigorous style, give the lie direct to what is jestingly spoken of as *Babu English*. Though the Reforms and recent movements have made many of his political essays obsolete in theme, the comments have still something left that is permanent. It is worth remembering that some of the essays collected here won him praise from such a ripe and veteran scholar as Sir George Grierson, and the book under review should be assured of welcome and admiration.

P. R. SEN

An Anthology of Modern Indian Poetry, edited by Gwendoline Goodwin (John Murray : Price 3*s*. 6*d*.).

This is the latest addition to the splendid " Wisdom of the East Series" brought out by Mr. Murray. In every way it is worthy of its predecessors. The Introductory note is extremely well written and quite interesting. India is a huge country and a fresh life is at present surging all over it which is finding voice in song and music all over the land. At such a time a book like this is specially valuable for it gives us a glimpse of what is going on in Indian hearts to-day. To the Western reader this is sure to be a welcome and a revealing volume, wonderful in the variety and freshness of its contents. To the Eastern reader the thing that strikes most is the wondrous treasure left out. Bengal, as is most fitting, takes the largest share of these selections, but even here we miss some of the wondrous pieces of C. R. Das and I think something more of Manomohan Ghosh might have been given. Of course the editor has chosen what appealed most to her. Where space is limited and choice unlimited, the editor is necessarily in the position of Browning's youth, thinking of

"Which lily leave, and then as best recall."

I have no quarrel with the present selection. I would only suggest to Mr. Murray that there is room for several such "Anthologies of Modern Indian Poetry," and that the word "modern" should be interpreted in the light of the spirit embodied in the poem rather than the mere date of birth and death of the writer. Comparisons are always odious, especially when we have here poems from writers of world-wide repute, but I must confess that what most charmed me in this book are the poems of Narayan Varnan Tilak.

BOOKWORM

Twilight Verses, by "Antiyes." Published by N. T. Sethna, Ahmedabad: Price Re. 1-8-0.

The book has been brought before the public with a foreword by Mrs. Shirley Maureen Hodgkinson, J. P. of Bombay, a foreword which, read in the proper light, spells fore-warning. The poet has sung "these simple strains" because the " Love for poetry has overwhelmed his heart "—and evidently his sense has not survived the process of immersion. The author admits he has not aimed at what he calls "exclusive originality"—a delightful phrase but in a sense other than that in which it is applied by him. The poet "cannot bear criticism's evil tide" (page 6), he is a "wretch that *inniy* pines" (p.8.). The bitterness is taken away from the critic's pen when he is told in the beginning, on opening the volume, that the writer craves his indulgence, as he wields a boyish pen, and that the critic must not be too hard. Immaturity of sentiment and crudeness of expression were therefore quite expected, but not the frequent punctuations by means of O's and Oh's and Ah's, nor mistakes of grammar like

Doth thou sing from Italian Sea
That has taken Ah! in its care
Thou my poet beyond compare? (p.14)

The writer quotes Lord Byron's audacious words in the preface and in the book itself the rhymes, the rings, the themes all point to Byron as the model, but it must be candidly confessed that the great poet had genius as well, and even from a boyish poet's pen the lines are not promising and the critic had best reserve his admiration and admonition till some later and more opportune moment. May that moment come soon and bless the young aspirant after literary fame with the divine fire of poetic genius, but till then ' twilight verses ' will not bear the light of day.

P. R. SEN

Voices from Within, by Rai Sahib Govin Lal Bonnerjee. Published by Jitendriya Bonnerjee, B.L. Price Re. 1-4, pp. 92.

In this beautifully printed, handy manual of pithy sayings relating to life in general, we come upon a rich fund of noble sentiments nobly expressed. Any of these would serve admirably well for a specimen, but we resist the temptation and would rather invite the reader to partake of the rich repast. This is not an immature production ; the appreciative reader would find in it substantial food well seasoned. It will come in as a suitable birth-day present or as a prize-book in schools and colleges, and is in every respect commendable. Each of these 250 thoughts sparkles with life; and we hope the author and the publisher will not take it amiss if in praising their creditable performance we find fault with the last sentence which is hardly English in idiom "Once you lose it, *and* you are gone for ever," etc. Evidently this is an oversight and it will be rectified in the next edition.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Śakuntalāy Nātyakalā (in Bengali), by Sri Debendranath Basu. Published by the Barendra Library, 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. 158 pages : Price Re. 1.

We extend our hearty welcome to this excellent manual of dramatic criticism which combines in its brief span of only 158 pages both lucidity of exposition and richness of information. It is admittedly an important contribution to the Śakuntalā literature in the Vernacular, an efficient and valuable help in unfolding the intricacies of dramatic construction. The writer is a well-known veteran in the world of Bengali authors; just a few years ago he had translated Othello into Bengali and his version was placed on the Bengali stage. The book under review, a fruit of the author's mature years, contains subtle touches which make themselves felt only after repeated and careful studies and it is at the same time a comparative study of English, Sanskrit and Bengali dramatic technique. It will meet the requirements of the B.A. student who takes up, for the first time in his collegiate course, Sanskrit and English plays for study as well as enlighten the layman who wishes to enjoy and to learn.

P. R. S.

Ourselves

CONGRATULATIONS TO PROFESSOR RADHAKRISHNAN.

Our congratulations to Professor S. Radhakrishnan who has been elected unanimously President of the Postgraduate Council in Arts for the session 1927-28. His breadth of vision, his deep loyalty to the institution, his faithfulness towards his colleagues in the Postgraduate Department and his organising capacity will, we trust, prove useful in the discharge of the onerous duties entrusted to him by the suffrage of his fellow teachers. We wish Professor Radhakrishnan every success in life.

* * *

CONGRATULATIONS TO SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR.

Our congratulations also to Sir Nilratan Sircar who has been elected President of the Postgraduate Council in Science for the fourth time. We shall miss his inspiring guidance from the Arts Council for the present but the professoriate in the Arts Department will remember with gratitude the intense self-sacrifice that a " mere half-timer " and " a medical man " rendered to the Postgraduate Department over whose deliberations and destinies he was ordained to preside by his width of culture, his deep veneration for the past and his affectionate regard for the aspirations of the rising generation of young lecturers.

* * *

THE LATE MR. JOGINDRANATH BOSE.

A notable personality has been removed from the field of Bengali literature by the hand of death. Mr. Jogindranath Bose, whose death last month we deeply mourn, was a life-long devotee to the cause of Bengali literature and was one of the few eminent writers who contributed to its present wealth. His pure and modest life was naturally reflected in the simple and chaste style which he adopted in his writings. He began his life as a teacher, and his exemplary character, which endeared him to students and guardians alike, remained the principal trait of the man even when he became known to fame and fortune. His life of Michael Madhusudan Dutt is an enduring monument to his industry and critical faculty, and it has become a classic in Bengali biographical literature. His *Prithviraj* and *Sivaji* received in his life-time the full meed of praise which they deserve, and his numerous other writings have been acclaimed with unstinted praise by an appreciating public. A strong undercurrent of patriotism and of lofty ideals breathing the purity and sanctity of ancient lore pervades his works. When Sir Asutosh Mookerjee introduced the scientific study of Indian Vernaculars in the Postgraduate Department of the University, he invited Mr. Bose to take part in the work, and Mr. Bose responded with characteristic enthusiasm ; but it was his failing health that stood in the way of his continuing the work. He was appointed to examine Premchand Roychand theses, and though illness prevented him from performing his duties, no small joy was his to see his beloved vernacular a subject for examination for the Blue Riband of the University. Mr. Bose died in old age—he was seventy-one at the time of his death—and his life stands out as a model of "well-conducted habits controlled by the rules of prudence and moderation."

> So mayest thou live ; till, like ripe fruit, thou drop
> Into thy mother's lap; or be with ease
> Gathered, not harshly plucked, for death mature.

* * *

RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

Final M.B.—

The number of candidates registered for Parts I and II of the Examination was 23 of whom 3 passed and 20 failed, Of those who failed none passed in Part I whilst 12 passed in Part II.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (New) of the Examination was 242 of whom 93 passed, 147 failed and 2 were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (Old) of the Examination was 2 but none passed.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (New) of the Examination was 157 of whom 88 passed, 68 failed and admission of one candidate was cancelled.

I.E.—

Section A.—The number of candidates registered for this Examination was 52 of whom 36 passed in all three groups, 14 were partially successful (13 failing to qualify in Mathematics and 1 in Physics) and 2 failed completely. Of the 6 who appeared in one group, only 4 candidates qualified, thus completing Section A.

Section B.—The number of candidates registered for this Examination was 39 of whom 22 passed and 17 failed.

B.E.—

Non-Professional Section.—The number of candidates registered for this Examination was 24 of whom 14 passed in both groups, 9 qualified in one group, Science, and 1 failed completely, and 7 candidates who had qualified previously in Science appeared in Mathematics only of whom 5 qualified, thus completing the Examination.

Professional Section.—The number of candidates registered for this Examination was 31 of whom 21 passed in the Second Division, 8 failed, 1 was absent and 1 was expelled.

B.A.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 3,143 of whom 1,169 were successful, 152 were absent, 11 were expelled and 1,783 failed. Of the successful candidates, 931 were placed on the Pass List and 225 on the Honours List,—the percentage of pass being 39·49. Of the candidates in the Honours List, 25 were placed in the First Class. Of the candidates in the Pass List, 63 passed with Distinction. In this connection the following tabular list indicating the percentage of pass from 1922 will be found interesting to our readers :

Year.	Percentage of Pass.
1922	74·3
1923	72·8
1924	72·1
1925	58·7
1926	57·1
1927	39·49

* * *

PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP.

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in scientific subjects for the year 1926 has been divided equally between Mr. Gopalchandra Chakrabarti, M.Sc., Mr. Subodhchandra Mitra, M.Sc., and Mr. Suddhodhan Ghosh, M.Sc., and in arts subjects for the year 1926 it has been divided equally between Mr. Ramaprasad Chowdhuri, M.A., Mr. Dhirendramohan Dutt, M.A., Mr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., and Mr. Ambujanath Banerjee, M.A.

* * *

PROFESSOR SYAMADAS MOOKERJEE.

We have been requested to publish the following :

"Prof. Dr. W. Blaschke
Hamburg 13
Rothenbaumchausse

Mathematisches Seminar
der Universitat.

To Prof. Dr. S. Mukhopadhyaya.

Very learned Mr. Colleague,

For your kindness in sending me your very beautiful geometrical work I thank you and am very much obliged to you. If, as I hope, a new edition of my "Lessons in Differential Geometry" comes out, I shall not fail to insert therein that you were the first to discover the beautiful theorems relating to the number of cyclic and sextactic points on an oval.

With greatest esteem,
Yours devoted,
W. BLASCHKE."

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NOTICE

With this number, the Sixth Year of the Third Series of the Calcutta Review comes to a close. Subscribers not desirous of continuing their connection with the *Review* will kindly inform the Manager to that effect on or before the 15th September, 1927.

P. N. BANERJEE,
Hony. Secretary, Calcutta Review,
Senate House, Calcutta.

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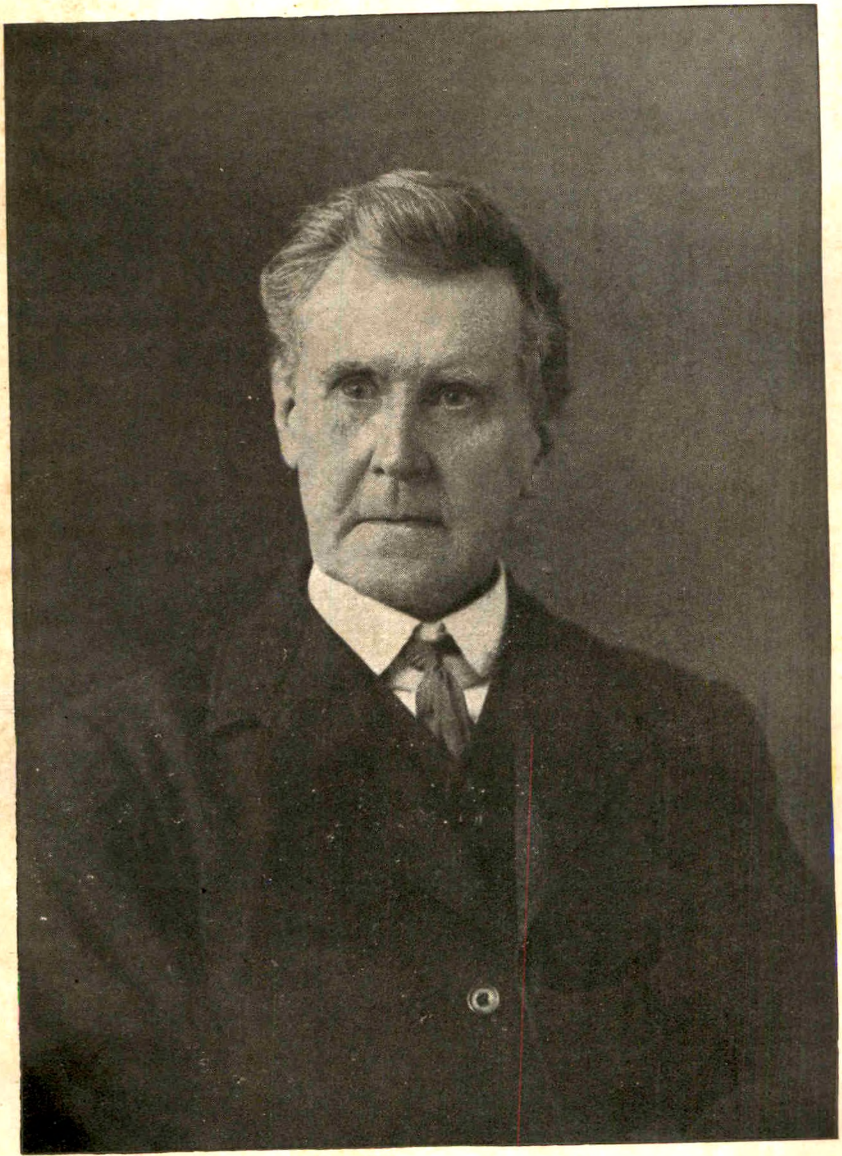

PROFESSOR HENRY STEPHEN, M.A., D.D., Ph.D.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1927

KRISTODAS PAL[1]

In the immortal words of the poet, Keats,

> " A thing of beauty is a joy for ever;
> Its loveliness increases; it will never
> Pass into nothingness; but still will keep
> A bower quiet for us and a sleep
> Full of sweet dreams and health and quiet breathing."

I think most of you will agree in regarding a good and noble life as the most beautiful thing in God's world. To have fellowship with the mighty dead, to remind ourselves on occasions like the present of their virtues, their struggles and conquests, is like getting renewed inspiration from

> " All lovely tales that we have heard or read,
> An endless fountain of immortal drink,
> Pouring unto us from the heaven's brink."

Until a few weeks ago when I was approached to take part in this meeting, Kristodas Pal was little more to me than a name. I remember when I first came to this country thirty-two years ago, spending a few days in Calcutta on my way to Orissa. In the vicinity of College Square it was my privilege to see the imposing statue of Kristodas Pal, erected only the

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[1] Address delivered at the forty-third Kristodas Pal Memorial Meeting, Calcutta University Institute, July 24, 1927.

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Until a few weeks ago when I was approached to take part in this meeting, Kristodas Pal was little more to me than a name. I remember when I first came to this country thirty-two years ago, spending a few days in Calcutta on my way to Orissa. In the vicinity of College Square it was my privilege to see the imposing statue of Kristodas Pal, erected only the year before, but all that remained in my mind regarding him was that he was a great journalist and an ardent patriot. Some ten years ago it was my privilege to meet his distinguished son, Mr. Radhacharan Pal, when I was for a period a fellow-member with him on the Bengal Legislative Council. Although that led me to make further enquiries from such as knew, regarding the work and personality of Kristodas Pal, yet I must confess that I remained sadly ignorant of all that he meant for Bengal during a life of public activity covering a period extending over nearly a quarter of a century. But a few weeks ago I received a call from Mr. Sitanath Pal, a grandson of Kristodas Pal, who was kind enough to do me the honour of requesting me to take part in this commemoration meeting. I naturally hesitated, but after a few days, during which I had an opportunity of studying his life and writings I readily consented. I soon found after reading much that has been written regarding his life and character, and specially after browsing in the old files of the Hindu Patriot that I was in touch with a powerful personality, who I do not hesitate to say will find a worthy place among the greatest half a dozen Indians produced by this country in the nineteenth century. In what it may be asked, does his greatness consist? True he was the editor of an important newspaper, but there have been many editors and journalists similarly circumstanced who cannot by any stretch of imagination be called great. He was the Assistant Secretary and then Secretary of a notable organisation of Land-owners, the British Indian Association, but I presume he is the only Secretary of that Society, whose name will go down to posterity. He was a justice of the peace, and a Municipal Commissioner, he was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and ultimately even of the Supreme Legislative Council, but we all know that it sometimes happens that very ordinary men occupy those positions of honour and trust, without any fraction of greatness about them. Kristodas Pal was even a Rai Bahadur and a C.I.E., and above all, like myself a fellow of the University of Calcutta, yet, sad to confess I have met many Rai Bahadurs, C.I.E.'s and even University Senators who I am quite sure will be wholly forgotten by their countrymen, and the world in general, fifty years hence. Some writers express regret that Kristodas Pal did not get the opportunity of serving his country as Finance Minister, or as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. I share that regret, for I am convinced that he had qualities that would have ranked him among the greatest Lieutenant-Governors that have ruled Bengal or any Indian Province. But be sure of this, that no exalted position, such as the Governorship of Bengal would have made Kristodas Pal greater as a man, or more worthy of our affectionate commemoration to-day. In the quarter of a century extending from 1869 to 1884, the period of Kristodas's public activity, Bengal had nine Lieutenant-Governors. The names of several of them are wholly forgotten by the present generation, and only two of those nine powerful officials, are regarded as worthy of a short biography in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, but it is interesting to note that that great and impartial repository of universal knowledge gives somewhat greater space to Kristodas Pal, than it does even to the two distinguished contemporary Lieutenant-Governors whose lives are briefly recorded in its pages. Real lasting greatness is in the man, not in any official position he occupies or in the wealth he commands, or in the titles he has inherited, earned or purchased. There were many millionaires, powerful officials, landed magnates, or popular leaders in the days of Kristodas Pal. No doubt many of them were good and worthy men in their day and generation. Concerning others we may fairly say that the less we know about them the better, but in regard to such a life as that of Kristodas Pal we feel like saying :—

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[1] Address delivered at the forty-third Kristodas Pal Memorial Meeting, Calcutta University Institute, July 24, 1927.

> "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever."

And our lives will be all the poorer if we neglect occasions such as the present, meant to bring us into touch again with what is

> "An endless fountain of immortal drink."

We are here to-day not to do good to Kristodas Pal—he has finally passed to his reward—but to do good to ourselves. What are some of the great qualities that characterise the life and personality of Kristodas that it is good for us to remember and perilous to neglect in the Bengal and the India of to-day? I cannot pretend to be able to tell you anything new, but I can only recall in my own way much what others have said on similar occasions. I can moreover assure you that what I do say is uttered with all sincerity and conviction, and if I use what some may regard as excessive liberty of speech in certain matters, well, I am only following in the footsteps of Kristodas Pal himself. I can only attempt a brief review of some of the characteristics of Kristodas Pal (1) as a man in private life, (2) as a Journalist, (3) as a politician and a man of affairs.

Kristodas as a Man in Private Life.

There are few doctrines more dangerous than this that the private life of a public man is no concern of the community. The foundation of all national greatness must be laid in the homes of our people, and when a man's home-life is essentially bad, I take it that there can be no permanent value in any public work he undertakes. Kristodas's private life will bear the most thorough investigation. To the last he was a devoted son, an affectionate father, a faithful husband, and an honourable friend. This cannot be said of all public men by any means, whether in the East or the West. I grant that it is possible to feel marked appreciation for the great abilities of public men even though their private lives will not stand looking into, but we do not continue to hold in reverence and affectionate esteem their memory. Of such it may be truly said

> "The evil that men do live after them
> The good is oft interred with their bones."

The descendants of such men are often their most bitter critics, because it is they who have been most deeply wronged. We can have no abiding respect for a man who devotes his energies to his motherland, but who in selfishness, is indifferent to the needs of his own father and mother, is disloyal or cruel to his wife, neglectful of his children, and dishonourable to his friends. Kristodas had his reward in the life-long devotion of a distinguished son and it is gratifying to see the grandson carrying on the honourable tradition. Kristodas has a host of friends and affectionate admirers to-day because he was true and honourable is his private relationships.

Moreover, Kristodas was a humble man to the end, equally accessible to all, high and low. In reading the records of the life of Kristodas, I am reminded of an incident in the life of Jesus. His disciples had been disputing among themselves as to who should hold chief place in the new kingdom that they expected their master to establish. "And Jesus called to him a little child, and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily I say unto you, except ye turn and become as little children, ye shall in nowise enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child the same is the greatest in the kingdom of Heaven. And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me." Kristodas was born in quite humble surroundings, and the early years of his manhood meant a struggle with poverty. He was dismissed from his first and only government appointment on the ground of supposed incompetence, but the real reason was no doubt the successful intriguing of a rival candidate. In due time however, Kristodas won through, and in the later years of his life he was courted and consulted by Viceroys, Governors, Judges, Maharajas, Zemindars and millionaires, but he never lost his mental balance and showed no signs of that very common malady, swelled head. Throughout he retained the simple heart and humble disposition of a child. Though a favourite of the great, and the secretary of an organisation consisting of rich zemindars, he never chose to forget the associates of the days of his childhood, and the struggling years of his poverty. At home his office room was always crowded with visitors, consisting of the rich and poor, the learned and ignorant, and advocate of zemindars though he was supposed to be, no poor peasant appealed to him in vain for help, guidance and advice, in the hour of his need. At heart we despise the great man who is ashamed of his humble origin, and who refuses to recognise and mingle on terms of equality with the friends and associates of his days of struggle and poverty. We may admire or envy the heights of greatness or wealth to which he has risen. Our love is reserved for a man like Kristodas, humble at heart, childlike in disposition, amid all the glamour of official recognition and popular applause.

There is one other great quality of Kristodas as a man to which I wish to refer. It is his high sense of honour and honesty. He was an essentially reliable man and people knew that here was a man they could trust implicitly whose word was his bond. Dishonesty in public men of great popular repute at the time is not an unknown phenomenon in East or West. Towards the end of the nineteenth century there was in England the infamous case of Jabez Balfour, a notable member of the British Parliament who brought ruin upon thousands of humble folk, by the collapse, as the result of dishonesty, of the companies of which he was managing director, while in our own day, that clever but utterly unscrupulous politician and company promoter, Horatio Bottomley, succeeded in fooling and defrauding a section of the British public for a period extending over many years. I know enough of conditions here in India to be aware of the fact that in the course of the passing years sometimes there has been no implicit faith in the honesty and integrity of a number of your public men, well-known in politics or commerce. Soon after coming to India I remember hearing of liberal subscriptions being raised for this public purpose or that given by a trusting people in times of enthusiasm, but in too many cases, no account was given to the same public of the expenditure of such money, notwithstanding much pressure and repeated demands, and though those in charge of such funds were recognised as men of national repute and standing. And what about the crores of rupees that were trustfully handed over to company promoters sometimes well-known public men from Swadeshi days onwards, with results in too many cases ending in utter collapse and ruin so far as the shareholders were concerned, but not always the directors? We join in this commemoration to-day of Kristodas Pal in love and reverence because we know he was a man of integrity, worthy of complete trust by all and sundry. No good can come to any country, East or West, that tolerates public men lacking in integrity and honesty in private or commercial or philanthropic relationships and transactions.

Kristodas Pal as a Journalist.

I do not pretend to be a judge of good journalism, but for the last forty years I have been a constant reader of a good many newspapers, magazines and reviews, good, bad and indifferent, and I can say with all sincerity that the *Hindu Patriot* of Kristodas is a journal after my own heart. During the past weeks I have had the privilege of consulting the old files of the *Patriot* extending over a number of years and have read with intense interest and appreciation a large number of his articles and reviews on a great variety of subjects—political, social, educational, technical, financial, agricultural, literary, religious. If one number only had come into my hands in the days of his activity, it would have been enough to have made me a regular subscriber, and I am not in the habit of making any rash decisions in such matters. I will indicate briefly some of the salient features of Kristodas as a journalist, as they strike an average reader like myself.

First, he has a passion for facts. It is perfectly evident that he is trying to give the true record of the events of the day, as he believed them to have happened, and if he has been led astray at all, he does not hesitate to make the necessary correction in a subsequent issue. A journal that deliberately tampers with the facts, that suppresses, or doctors the plain records of events as they really happen, is guilty of high treason against the rights of the average reader. Further there is a chasteness, a vigour, a terseness and a lucidity about his style that to me is particularly attractive and effective, and ranks him among the great names of English Journalism. In every article he wrote you feel you are in touch with a sincere, vigorous and cultured personality. Although I am a teacher of English I have little faith in the drawing up of formal rules and regulations for the cultivation of good style. The style of man is the expression of the man himself, and the personality of Kristodas lives in his style. Some good people have the habit of condemning the reading of all newspapers and reviews as so much waste of time on what is ephemeral trash. I admit the condemnation is wholly justifiable in the case of too many papers. There is no trace of the educative about them. But a really good journal—and there is still a number left—is a university and a church in itself. Tell us the papers a man reads with eager appreciation and zest, and I shall have little difficulty in telling you the kind of man he is in himself. Next to a good book there are few enjoyments in life greater than the reading of a good paper or review. Kristodas must have made many men happier and better by his editing of the *Hindu Patriot*.

Kristodas had a respect for facts and he had style, but in his general outlook he entertained definite ideals and convictions of his own. It is difficult to have any respect, much less have any affection for a paper with no policy. After a time one comes to know instinctively what line a paper is likely to take on any particular issue, but we expect it to take a line and not wobble. A journal that turns now this way, and now that, like a weather-cock, according to the breeze that blows, is not an unknown phenomenon, but such a journal does not make history. It is because Kristodas held strong convictions, and had the courage to give utterance to them, that he is now regarded as a maker of history. He may have been mistaken or one-sided in his views from time to time—if he were not, he would be superhuman—but a man who says or does nothing because he is afraid of making mistakes, ends in making nothing.

While Kristodas held strong convictions of his own he was invariably fair and moderate in his comments on men and affairs. He frankly recognised that other men had convictions which they held as strongly as he did his own. There is thus in his most crushing criticism a sweet reasonableness, that makes it impossible for one to be angry or irritated. I can well understand the indulgent twinkle there must have been in the eye of Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor who in introducing Mr. Pal to the Viceroy remarked, "Allow me to introduce to you the man who abuses me every week in his paper." I don't know what is the effect with you, but so far as I am concerned, unjust abuse of any person or thing that I venerate or love, simply ends in the silent boycott of the journal concerned. I avoid it instinctively as I do a man who has played me false, because I know it is incapable of fairplay and honourable dealing. There are many papers, believe me, in the East and the West, who haven't it in them to treat an opponent fairly. Occasionally Kristodas came down heavily on the methods of certain missionaries. In not a single instance have I felt that his criticism was unfair or without a solid basis of fact. Indeed it may be said in general that his criticisms were so feared and so effective, just because they were so fair. Criticism that is essentially unjust acts like water on a duck's back—it fails to penetrate.

One more point I wish to mention in regard to Kristodas as a journalist. The *Hindu Patriot* did not defile its pages with vulgar sensationalism or gross personalities about the living or the dead. In this respect Kristodas showed that he possessed the tone and the instinctive restraint of the true gentleman. To publish something new and sensational, whether true, false or exaggerated, is, I am afraid, the dominant ideal of not a few journalists, simply because it is profitable. You may have heard the story of the American Editor. Calling his young apprentice to him he remarked, "Now my paper wants news, nothing but news. If a dog bites a man, that is not news. It is the nature of dogs, and they have been practising it since the creation. But when a man bites a dog, that's real news. Bring it along to me properly dished up and I will see that it gets proper head-lines." Some papers seem to live on sensational stunts. The *Hindu Patriot* throughout stands for sanity and goodwill. It is needed to-day.

Finally,

Kristodas as a Politician, and a Man of Affairs.

He had the advantage of beginning and continuing his public life with a clean private record and so he was held in greatest respect for his integrity and high character, even when men differed from him in their views of public policy. I take it that there are three great qualities needed for the highest public service—industry, ability and character, and the greatest of these is character. A man may go a long way with only one of those qualities but he will never reach the highest rung in the ladder without a combination of all three—industry, ability and character.

Kristodas began life in 1857 at the age of 19, having had the elements of a sound education under able teachers—European and Indian. The University was founded in the same year, and some think he was fortunate in escaping the grinding toil involved in the pursuit of University certificates and degrees. University or no University would have made no difference to a man of the calibre of Kristodas. He would have rejoiced if he had the academic opportunities in youth of young men more favourably circumstanced and he would have made wise and effective use of any and every opportunity that came his way within the portals of a University. He was too great a man to be spoiled by the glamour of any academic laurels he might have attained. Some years ago an old student of mine managed on my recommendation to get an appointment in a certain office. A year later the head of the department wrote to me in effect,

> "The young man you recommended sometime ago is different from practically all the other Calcutta graduates I have had experience of. They come thinking that because they are graduates they know everything to begin with. He came frankly recognising that he knew nothing, and had everything to learn. The result is he is steadily making good."

Now that is the stuff of which Kristodas was made, and all other men, East or West, that rise to the top. They enter on their life-work, knowing full well, notwithstanding all their academic certificates, that they are only at the beginning of their real education, that which counts in the battle of life. Kristodas was bent on cultivating to the utmost the powers that God had given him, and so for years he spent all his leisure hours in that University of books—the Public Library. Unflagging industry and continuous study of all the best sources of knowledge, ancient and modern with the inestimable blessing of a good memory, laid solid foundations that gave him courage and confidence in all his public work.

I can only rapidly review what I consider some of the main characteristics of his public work. He had no doubt the gift of eloquence in a marked degree, and could use the English language in a way that was the envy of most Englishmen who had the privilege of hearing him. But his eloquence had nothing in it of the frothy kind, with no accompanying substance. We all know that many high-sounding eloquent orations are at bottom so much clap-trap, mere stuff and nonsense, simply because they are a mere appeal to men's emotions at the time, and have no solid basis of fact. To thinking minds, European and Indian, Kristodas was a man of persuasive speech, because he combined with it a respect for truth and hard facts. Unlike many public speakers, he knew also how to debate, which is a very different thing from eloquent speech. It is not so much set orations, as speeches with good debating points, opportunely seized in the course of discussion that really influence opinion and shape conclusions in our public bodies, and here Kristodas was admittedly a master-hand. Moreover, though he had never travelled beyond the borders of India, and remained a devout orthodox though progressive Hindu to the end, he was singularly free from strong prejudice and partisanship, whether social, religious, political or racial. He knew it to be his duty and privilege to know all men with whom he was called upon to deal, whatever their party, race or creed, and knowing all men as he did, he misrepresented none. I am convinced that most of the misunderstanding and hatred of public life are due to men's sheer ignorance of one another. We depend so much on hearsay. We have not the courage, patience or industry to examine things for ourselves at first hand and gradually our opponents assume in our minds the shape of monsters, when in reality they are men just like ourselves and perhaps sometimes a little better. In most cases perhaps to know all is to forgive all. Kristodas was sometimes blamed for being friendly with so many kinds of people, as Christ was blamed for being on friendly terms with publicans and sinners, but he showed the instincts of a great public man when he considered his duty to know and understand all and sundry by personal touch rather than from mere and often grossly prejudiced report. Yet with all his human sympathy for men of all types and races, he was throughout his career an ardent patriot, but his patriotism was always combined with a genuine cosmopolitan outlook. He knew very well that that patriotism was false and mischievous that always shouted " my country, right or wrong," that always considered everything foreign satanic and everything native divine. He went on his way serenely, quietly doing and saying what he believed to be his duty to do or say, condemning or praising impartially government or people according as his conscience dictated.

Kristodas did not make the mistake of some public men in being morally afraid to praise anything done by the other side, even when it deserved praise, lest there should be a suspicion of disloyalty to one's own party. Kristodas was far from limiting himself to work of a showy character that brought him into public prominence. Small honours came to him, but they were wholly unsought. He had nothing of the self-seeking politician about him, always grinding his own axe, or seeking some new honour and advantage for himself. Moreover he did not despise the day of small things and was as conscientious in devoting attention to the drains and sanitation of his own city, as he was to great affairs amid the heights of Simla. Work on the small Committees or speaking in the great Assembly was equally important to him, and when occasion demanded, he had the courage to be in the right with two or three, rather than in the wrong with the million. He has been criticised for identifying himself so closely with the cause of the zemindars. I am not a zemindar or zemindar's son, and my natural sympathies are apt to be with the peasants, but there is hope for the zemindars of Bengal when they make a man like Kristodas their guide, philosopher and friend. He felt and felt strongly that the interests of masters and workers were ultimately identical and that the true line of progress was evolution rather than revolution. In conclusion may I suggest that the time is ripe for a new study of the life and times of Kristodas Pal, accompanied by an adequate but judicious selection from his writings? A worthy contribution in this direction will be a fitting qualification for a Doctorate in our University. I pass on this suggestion to some young national scholar with the necessary gifts.

George Howells

LOVE'S CHAIN

I

Oh, why do I thus crave for things
When all in Thee are found;
Oh, why do I thus wring my heart,
To world of flesh firm bound.

I am Thy slave, O Lord of Love,
Hold me in Thy chain,
Disable tug to hurt my soul
By thoughts, unholy, vain.

In peace and joy the chain I bear
And sorrow comes to me,
That sorrow's mother of Love unseen—
The message of joy from Thee.

If I but kiss the hand that strikes
And bless Thy loving care
For vilest vile that ev'r can be
To lift them to Thine sphere—
Untouched by word or mind,
Where light of man is blind.

II

O, Love me Thou or love me not,
I'm ever thirsty for Thy love,
Beside Thee what of price have I—
Here below or above?
Thou canst destroy this life of mine ;
To let me live is glory Thine.

III

Man's good and ill are one to Thee
Ordain Thou, Lord, what's good for me.

IV

What good and ill in me I see
May I not value them,
May I but value Thee alone
My life's one single gem.

V

Thou art Eternal all, unseen,
Love for Thee is love for all;
This eye is veiled by little life
I love myself; but great or small
Thy mercy lets me see
Thee in all, all in Thee?

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

PERMANENT CIVIL SERVICE AND POLITICAL CONTROL

Expert management under lay control and responsibility is the basic principle of British Administration to-day.[1] In fact this is the system that has been evolved in all the modern democracies of the world. The present-day Government is far too complicated a business for pure amateurs to efficiently conduct. It requires the life-long experience of a man to master the inside and out of a Government department and handle successfully the administrative machine. Without this expert help, the whole governmental system would at once run out of gear. An efficient permanent civil service, we thus see, has come to be an indispensable factor of the modern government. It is, in fact, the very backbone of the whole administrative structure. Remove this adjunct and the fabric would immediately give way. It might have been possible in an ancient city-state with its few thousand citizens and elementary functions to do without a civil service worth the name. The citizens themselves by rotation might have performed these duties of the state quite successfully according to the standard of their day.[2] The modern state, however, with its far-flung territory, ever-increasing functions and its new standard of efficiency can hardly do without a well-organised permanent civil service.[3] The day-to-day administration of a country can only be neatly carried on by trained and experienced hands. The details of a scheme can be scientifically worked out and methodically applied only by people specially trained for the purpose. Take the case of any department of the modern Government, let it be the Treasury or the Home Office; the variety of work it has to perform, the innumerable rules and regulations under which it has to discharge its duty, the various relations it has to maintain with other departments and local bodies would bewilder any new man, whatever be his natural ability and general training.[1] It is only long experience and steadfast devotion to duty for quite a number of years in a department that thoroughly acquaint a man with the nature of the instruments he has to handle. A newcomer is only at sea.

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[1] See A. L. Lowell, The Government of England, Vol. I (New Ed., 1924), p. 176.

[2] See A. E. Zimmern, The Greek Common-Wealth (2nd ed.), p. 161.

[3] Even 150 years ago "it was still possible for the amateur, the parliamentary politician, to keep himself in close touch with all the business of a department of state and so long as this lasted the professional administrator could be kept within the sphere of a mere clerk obeying orders." See Ramsay Muir, Peers and Bureaucrats (1910), p. 9.

While, however, the bureaucracy is indispensable to the efficient management of any administrative department, a kind of lay control is equally essential for the welfare of the public. "Experts acting alone tend to take disproportionate views and get more or less out of touch with the commonsense of the rest of the world."[2] "They lose contact with the facts of life, and are overcome by words and figures; they confuse means and ends and regard habit and routine as ends in themselves."[3] Walter Bagehot also has pointed out, "If it is left to itself the office will become technical, self-absorbed and self-multiplying. It will be likely to overlook the end in the means; it will fail from narrowness of mind; it will be eager in seeming to do; it will be idle in real doing."[4] It will, in fact, remain simply enmeshed in rules and regulations, in technical subtleties and unnecessary correspondence. The urgency of work will not appeal to it, unnecessary delay is always found to be its chief attribute. It is with these thoughts in his mind that Professor Ramsay Muir has very cogently observed that "bureaucracy, which is a necessary servant of all modern Governments, becomes dangerous when it is left too free from criticism and when it controls, instead of being controlled by, the sovereign organs of the state."[1] A golden mean has thus to be discovered between bureaucratic routine and amateurish inefficiency. It is necessary to have in any administration a proper combination of experts and men of the world. It is immensely important that some fresh mind should be always associated with an administrative department. The lay element is to act as a corrective to the professional part.[2]

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[1] In this connection the White Hall Series edited by Sir James Marchant and dealing with the different departments of His Majesty's Government throws a flood of light.

[2] See A. L. Lowell, The Government of England, Vol. I (New Ed., 1924), p 173.

[3] See R. M. Dawson, The Principle of Official Independence (1922), p. 21,

[4] See The English Constitution (3rd Ed., 1882), p. 199,

In a parliamentary form of government the extrinsic chief is alone responsible for the entire activity of the department. He is to be held accountable by the legislature for everything the department is concerned with. The civil service only plays its part behind the screen. "The work of permanent officials is anonymous."[3] They have nothing so much to do with the general public or the legislative body. They live and move and have their being under the shelter of their political chief. If the permanent officials mismanage a business or in any way fail to do the needful, it is not the miscreants in the office that would be the target of attack in the legislature. All the fury of the people's representatives will be directed towards the minister in charge of the department. To the outside public, an administrative department is only known through its political head, so much so that the titles of a department and its parliamentary head are almost interchangeable. As for instance the "Home Office" and the "Home Secretary" often mean the same thing.[4]

Now that the political chief is alone responsible to the legislature for the work of his department, it is only meet that the departmental machinery should be run on his authority alone. Power and responsibility should go together. When it is likely that the minister in charge might be given a vote of censure and even thrown out of office for some action of his subordinates, it is only essential that he should have sufficient authority over these permanent civil servants. "The permanent officials............are to give their advice upon the questions that arise, so as to enable the chief to reach a wise conclusion and keep him from falling into mistakes. When he has made his decision, they are to carry it out; and they must keep the department running by doing the routine work. In short the chief lays down the general principles, while his subordinates give him the benefit of their advice and attend to the details."[1] They would give him all the advice according to their lead and light, but as soon as the minister comes to a decision and orders a line of action, the subordinates have got only one business to discharge and that is to carry it out in its proper spirit. The measure might appear unpalatable to them, but accepted as it is by the political chief, they have no other alternative but to ungrudgingly put it into action. Their function in fact consists in enlightening the chief upon the facts and figures of a question, in bringing to his notice its past history and present complications and in furnishing him with the pros and cons of the lines of action now possible. This done, they must wait for the minister to make up his mind. And as he commits himself to a course, they would act according to it. They have no responsibility and no final authority in the matter. Both are vested in the minister.[2]

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[1] See Peers and Bureaucrats (1910), p. 65.

[2] Bagehot, The English Constitution, p. 199.

[3] See Sir Edward Troup, Home Office (1925), Preface,

[4] *Ibid*, p. 3.

The historic statement of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917, announced a new policy of the British Government towards India. It declared that henceforward it was the ambition of His Majesty's Government to introduce in India full responsible government, not of course all at once, but by stages and instalments.[3] According to this declaration of policy, an Indian Reform Bill was shaped, and introduced in Parliament in 1919 which subsequently with due amendments and alterations became the Government of India Act of that year. This great constitutional measure along with other salutary, though inadequate, changes in the Indian administrative system, transferred some of the Governmental functions in the provinces to the hands of the representatives of the newly created electorates. So far as these functions were concerned, India was to be administered by a responsible form of government. These departments were to be run under the leadership and supervision of some ministers to be chosen from among the elected representatives of the people.[1] And for the proper administration of these departments the ministers were to be responsible to the legislature which could remove them at its will. In fact for the discharge of these "nation-building" functions, a cabinet form of government was introduced and the ministers were expected to be jointly and severally responsible to the legislature for their action.[2]

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[1] Lowell, The Government of England (Vol. I), p. 182.

[2] "Whatever the Home Office does it does by the authority of the Home Secretary either obeying his direct instruction in an individual matter or carrying out a policy for which he accepts responsibility." Home Office, p. 3.

[3] See the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, p. 1.

Now in order to fulfil his responsibility to the legislature and ultimately to the electorate, the minister should have, in the fitness of things, been invested with all the authority over his departments. The permanent officers in them should have looked to him alone for inspiration and guidance. They should have given him all the help and co-operation necessary and carried out his order and policy loyally and ungrudgingly. As permanent and experienced officers it was only expected that they should have definite opinions of their own upon many important questions of the day. But as subordinate officers working under the minister theirs was not a function to formulate policy according to their lead and light, but to help the minister to chalk out one according to his ideas and then to carry it out in its details. Unfortunately, however, the past traditions and many of the present functions of the higher permanent services, their extra-Indian recruitment and control and in short all the conditions of their service are incompatible with their implicit loyalty to the minister. The higher services are recruited by the Secretary of State for India in Council.[1] They hold office during the pleasure of His Majesty which means that only the Secretary of State can dismiss them.[2] In the provinces their promotion in office no doubt depends considerably upon the provincial authorities.[3] But in case they feel unappreciated and wronged they may appeal to the Secretary of State in Council whose authority is final.[4] It is, therefore, not the least unnatural that the ministers would find their authority shadowy over the officers who are not appointed by them and whom they cannot reward or punish in any way. Under the regulations the Secretary of a department, excepting in some technical cases, has to be recruited from among the senior members of the Indian Civil Service. Now[5] this system is as much true of a transferred department as of the reserved subjects. As a member of the Indian Civil Service, the Secretary, "holding a position analogous to that of permanent Under-Secretary in England "[6] is beyond the control of his political chief. His loyalty is not limited to the minister. He has greater responsibility to discharge to the authorities who control his future prospects. As a servant responsible ultimately to the Secretary of State for his action, he is not supposed to be always the willing and faithful supporter of the minister's authority. Now not only these anomalous extra-provincial conditions of his service are a natural bar to the Secretary's unflinching loyalty to his chief, but the memory of the past tradition of his office also makes it almost impossible that he should so suddenly develop the silent and anonymous habit of a British Civil Servant.

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[1] Sec. 52, sub-sections (1), (2) and (3) of the Government of India Act.

[2] See the Report of the Joint Select Committee, and also the instrument of Instructions to Governors (VI).

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[1] Section 97, sub-sections (5) and (6) of the Government of India Act.

[2] Section 96 B, sub-section (1) of the Government of India Act.

[3] Rules regarding the Civil Services in India, VIII and X.

[4] *Ibid*, XVII.

[5] The Statute of 1861.

[6] See Sir John Strachey, India : Its Administration and Progress (1911), p. 68.

"The Imperial services in the past have been mainly responsible for the shaping of policy in India" and "the combination of political and administrative functions"[1] in their hands was a source of their immense prestige, dignity and power in the country. The higher civil servants in India, since the first planting of British administration in this country, have had to perform work, far greater in scope and more responsible in nature than any that ever was done by their compeers in Britain. "They are in fact," observed a minute of Lord Wellesley in 1800, "the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign....They are required to discharge the functions of Magistrates, Judges, Ambassadors, and Governors of provinces... Their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world...."[2] The people who have thus once initiated measures and shaped the policy of Government cannot possibly find their position so congenial in an office where they have to play a second fiddle to the popular head of the department. Many of them have found themselves unable to accommodate to the circumstances created by the Reforms. As permanent officers in a minister's department, they want to act in an independent capacity and make their own opinions and views prevail. In this recalcitrant tendency they have been considerably backed by some regulations, once perhaps salutary, but which have most irrationally been maintained in the transferred departments under the Reforms. Before the regime of Lord Canning the form of the Government of India was "a consultative Council presided over by the Governor-General who initiated all business and under whose direct orders the Secretaries of the different departments carried on their duties.''[1] There was no portfolio system and the Governor General's Executive Council was something like the Board of Directors of an industrial company and the Governor General himself combined in him roughly the dual functions of the Chairman and the Managing Director. Members of the Council had practically no concern with the Secretaries of Departments. The latter were to act under, and were responsible to, the Governor-General, with, of course, a right of appeal to the higher authorities beyond India. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 gave to Lord Canning and his successors the means of reforming this system and the council was forthwith converted virtually into a cabinet, with each of its members in charge of a department.[1] But even after the introduction of this system ''the duty rests upon the Secretary, apart from his responsibility towards the member of council in charge of the department, of bringing personally to the knowledge of the Governor-General every matter of special importance.''[2] The Secretary was thus authorised to take matters to the Governor-General over the head of his own chief. This practice was also, as a matter of course, introduced in all the provinces with a Council-Government. Now so long as the Indian administration was purely of a bureaucratic character and irresponsible in nature, no fault could possibly be found with the system. With the introduction of the Reforms, however, the Indian constitution has launched upon a new career. A popular element, responsible to the legislature, has been brought into being. The old secretariat arrangement certainly does not fit in with the new political changes. As already stated, the minister to discharge his accountability to the legislature must have full control over his departmental staff. But illogically enough here also the Secretary comes in to exercise an amount of power quite inconsistent with ministerial responsibility. In cases of disagreement between the minister and the Secretary, the latter might carry the subject over the head of his chief to the Governor of the province. It is for the Governor now to decide whom to support. The legislative council might demand a measure and the minister might be quite willing to initiate one but the Secretary at this moment might disagree with his chief upon some vital principle. Now in case the Governor inclines to the side of the Secretary, the measure drops or comes out in an appearance not wholly to the liking of the legislature.

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[1] See the Minority Report of the Reform Enquiry Committee, pp. 161-162.

[2] Quoted in B. N. Banerji's article on "The College of Fort William" in the *Modern Review* for February, 1927. Also see P. Auber, An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company (1826), pp. 625-27.

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[1] See General Sir George Chesney, Indian Polity (1894), p 127.

[2] See Strachey, India, p. 67.

An ex-minister of the Central Provinces, Rao Bahadur N. K. Kelkar, complained before the Muddiman Committee that " the permanent Heads of Departments can and often do challenge the propriety of minister's orders and the minister can do them no harm ; that the various instances of interference that occurred during his term of office had left an impression on his mind that the bureaucracy still wants to retain the control of the departments in their hands ; and owing to the very wide powers conferred upon Secretaries cases which were in his opinion petty or simple, were taken to the Governor for final orders."[1] Lala Harkishen Lal, an Ex-minister of the Punjab, also pointed out before the Committee that "officials appealed, complained, took legal advice and threatened him with the opinion of the Government of India and with referring the matter to the Secretary of State."[2] This anomalous state of things was also to a certain extent brought home to the Public Services Commission presided over by Lord Lee. " In the transferred field the responsibility for administration rests on Ministers dependent on the confidence of Provincial Legislatures. It had been represented to us," observes its Report, " that although ministers have been given full power to prescribe policy they might be hampered in carrying it out by the limitations to their control over the All-India Services, inasmuch as members of these Services unlike those of Provincial Services are appointed by the Secretary of State and cannot be dismissed except by him whilst their salaries are not subject to the control of the Local Legislatures."[1] Accordingly the Report proceeded to frame proposals "to remedy this particular anomaly" and recommended that no further recruitment should be made for the imperial Services on the transferred side. "The personnel required for these branches of administration should in future be recruited and appointed by Local Governments."[2] So far so good. But the officers of these services could at best rise to the position of the Heads of departments.[3] The posts of Secretaries to these departments, however, are reserved for members of the Indian Civil Service.[4] And the appointment of, and control over, this latter Service "must continue to vest in the Secretary of State."[5] Not only this. There are more anomalies still. While dyarchy has been introduced as a form of government in the provinces, the old unitary method has yet been considerably maintained in matters of day-to-day administration. Even now the District officer is "the tortoise which supports the elephant upon which Indian government rests."[6] "Though the creation of separate departments has relieved him of direct responsibility for Forest, Public Works, Sanitation, Education and to some extent Jail administration, his peculiar position as executive head of the District keeps him in touch with all these."[7] In fact due to historical reasons the functions of government are interwoven in a complete fabric and centre in the moffusil in the hands of the District Magistrate.[8] He is not only the representative of the reserved side of government in his district but is quite in a position to help or hinder the activities of the popular half as well. For successful discharge of ministerial responsibility in matters of Public Works, Forests, Public Health and Education "his active co-operation and counsel are still needed.[1] The Divisional Commissioners also exercise not a little influence and power over the working of the transferred subjects. In matters of Local Self-Government these officers are the agents of the ministers in their respective divisions and as such their "control over the district boards and municipalities is considerable."[2] Now most of the District Officers and Divisional Commissioners belong to the Indian Civil Service and as such are far beyond the control of the minister. They are not responsible to him for their work and if they try to nullify his orders and go against the spirit of his policy, he is simply helpless and can at best complain to the Governor.[3] In its relations with the transferred departments therefore "the Civil Service, as it exists at present in India, is an anachronism."[4] It has now been fully apparent that "any system of Government which does not give a minister complete control over his own officers and his own department is unworkable."[5] Now this glaring inconsistency cannot be done away with by the mere amendment of some rules here and the modification of some regulations there.

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[1] See Strachey, India, p. 69.

[2] See the Report of the Reform Enquiry Committee, p. 28.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 29.

[2] The Lee Report, p. 8.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 8.

[4] Of course the Head of the Public Works Department (the Chief Engineer) is also the *ex-officio* Secretary to the department.

[5] *Vide* the Statute of 1861 as modifying and amending that of 1793.

[6] The Lee Report, p. 7.

[7] See Ramsay MacDonald, The Government of India, p. 98.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 97.

The Indian constitution is not something static. It will grow and expand in the early future. But "the question of the services is inseparably connected with the question of constitutional development."[6] Provincial autonomy under responsible ministers, but with irresponsible subordinate officers will only be a misnomer. If a unitary form of Government responsible to, and removable by, the elected representatives of the people is to be inaugurated at all in the Indian provinces the present Indian Civil Service and other All-India Services must go, lock, stock and barrel. This will be one of the vital and indispensable changes in the Indian constitution before any political progress is possible. With the ministers looking to the Legislative Council for inspiration and their subordinates to the India Office for power and protection, the extended Reforms will be a hollow sham, not worth the attention of sane people. As an adjunct, therefore, of true responsible Government "the position of the permanent services in India should be placed on the same basis as in England."[1]

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[1] See Lionel Curtis, Dyarchy, p. 184.

[2] Kale, Indian Administration, p. 262.

[3] Mr. C. Y. Chintamony, an ex-minister of U. P., brings to the notice of the Muddiman Committee many cases of interference in his work by these officers. See the Report, p. 29.

[4] See Curtis, Dyarchy, p. 142.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 146.

[6] See the Minority Report of the Reform Enquiry Committee, p. 163.

NARESHCHANDRA ROY

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 163.

PRESENT TENDENCY OF JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

I

In the field of world politics of the twentieth century Japan has played a leading role. Although we do not hear much about Japan's position in world politics, it is an undisputed fact that no question of first rate importance in international relations can be solved without taking Japan into consideration.

To get an adequate idea of the present tendency of Japan's foreign policy, it is necessary to note a few of the outstanding features of her foreign policy of the past, and the most important of the national characteristics of the Japanese people. The Japanese people have proven that, above all, they can adjust themselves under changing conditions, better than any other people. It is often said that, the Japanese people are imitators; but in reality their national characteristic is "adaptability" without losing their own national identity. The Japanese nation has never been subjected to foreign domination; they fortunately succeeded in resisting the Mongol as well as the Korean and western invasions. The Japanese had their own civil wars during the middle ages and the era of feudalism; but they closed their country from foreign intercourse as a matter of precaution against foreign intervention or invasion. Thus in making generalisation of Japanese foreign policy one should take into consideration the supreme anxiety of Japanese statesmen and people to preserve their national integrity and to adapt themselves to the world conditions. The Japanese statesmen do not formulate a policy first and work to change the world conditions in line with their policy; on the contrary they try to form their foreign policy to suit world conditions. Some short-sighted people think that the Japanese statesmen are untrustworthy because they have no settled foreign policy; they should realize that a nation's foreign policy should change according to the change of world conditions.

II

Until the middle of the nineteenth century Japan had no foreign intercourse. American Commodore Perry with a threat of force, induced the Japanese to open their country to the foreigners. The first anxiety of the Japanese was to settle their internal disputes and to learn what seemed to be superior among the western peoples. After the opening of Japan to western intercourse, the western people in their dealings with Japan, imposed the practice of extra-territorial jurisdiction and restriction of tariff autonomy, thus limiting Japanese sovereignty. The Japanese statesmen chafed under the conditions, but they directed their energy to re-organise Japan and strengthen her position by building up her army and navy, so that her demands in international relations will not be regarded as empty words of supplications.

Japanese statesmen were anxious to have cordial understanding with both China and Korea, so that these three nations would work in harmony to preserve their independence. It was the Korean arrogance, Chinese incompetence and anti-Japanese attitude and the Jingoistic party of Japan that brought about the Chino-Japanese War. For about forty years, Japan tried to secure some recognition from western powers, but she was ignored. However, after her victory in the Korean War (the so-called Chino-Japanese War of 1894-1895) Japan began to receive respectful attention from western powers, then interested in extending their sway in the Far East. Before the Chino-Japanese War, Japan did not develop her foreign policy to any considerable extent, as she was busy in putting her house in order.

III

After the Japanese victory over China, Russia, Germany and France combined and intervened against Japan and deprived her of the fruits of her victory. The proud Japanese statesmen faced the situation of humiliating surrender at the demand of the three great Powers or to fight them, with superb judgment. They knew that they could not fight with success, so they surrendered. This incident left a lasting impression in the minds of Japanese statesmen. *They realised that a nation may defeat its enemy in the battle-field, but military victory can become a diplomatic defeat, if proper precautions were not taken.* They realised that Japan had to surrender because she was diplomatically isolated.

After the Sino-Japanese War and the signing of the Treaty of Simonosaki, the dominant motive in Japanese foreign policy was, *to find out means to end the condition of isolation in world politics.* In Japan statesmen were divided into two groups. One group headed by late Prince Ito thought it to be best to adjust Japan's relations with Russia and form an alliance with her. His idea seemed to be that, if he made an alliance with Russia it would naturally mean an alliance with France, as Russia and France were in alliance; and also it would provide cordial understanding with Germany which was supporting Russia in her Far Eastern policy. This group of statesmen feared Great Britain, which had subjected India and fought Opium Wars against China, as the most dangerous future enemy of Japan. The other group of statesmen headed by Viscount Hayashi thought that, Japan should secure support from Great Britain and thus check Russian aggression in the Far East, particularly in Korea. The Tsarist statesmen, ignorant of Japan's actual strength, and flushed with their own importance, did not pay heed to Ito's suggestions for an alliance; while the British statesmen, to end the position of isolation in world politics, and to counter-balance the bitter hostility of France and Russia against Great Britain, facing world-wide unpopularity due to the Boer War, quickly grasped the opportunity of forming the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

IV

Formation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was the turning point of the history of the world; every important development of world politics during the existence of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance hinged on it. Without the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, there could not have been a Russo-Japanese War. Without Russian defeat by Japan, Great Britain would not have been courted by French statesmen to bring about a settlement of Anglo-French disputes on colonial questions in Asia and Africa. Without Russian defeat and Anglo-French understanding, there was no possibility of an Anglo-Russian understanding, leading to the formation of the Triple Entente. It is very doubtful, if the Triple Entente could have won the War against the Central powers—Germany—if Japan had not gone into the World War against her. Had Japan remained neutral, Great Britain, Russia and France could not have used their full force in Europe against the Central Powers, and it is very doubtful, if America would have entered the World War.

The Japanese foreign policy for twenty years, between the formation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Washington Conference, was to lean upon Great Britain or follow the British lead. However, during this period, Great Britain reaped the greater advantage from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance than did Japan. Through Japanese support, Britain destroyed her enemies, Russia and Germany, respectively. After the World War, Britain definitely chose to discard the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in favour of an Anglo-American understanding. This brought about a new and dangerous situation for Japan and the Japanese statesmen had to face it as best they could.

V

During the so-called Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments, Japanese statesmen realized that they were facing isolation in world politics. There was the Anglo-American combination interested in curbing any further development of Japan's naval power ; there was the hostility of China, because of the Twenty-One Demands and Shantung Question. China was being supported by both Britain and America against Japan. Japanese statesmen found that an adventure against Soviet Russia was a great liability. They felt that Britain and America did not look upon Japan as a friendly power, otherwise there could not have been the demands for limitation of Japan's naval power, and at the same time development of great naval bases in Singapore and Hawaii. France was the only power which remained friendly to Japan. They realised that if Great Britain and America be supported by China and Russia in any anti-Japanese policy, Japan was going to face a far worse situation than Germany had to face before, during and after the World War.

The Japanese statesmen again submitted to the desperate situation with calmness, and accepted the Anglo-American coercion in the Washington Conference, as they accepted the terms of Russia, Germany and France after the Chino-Japanese War. They at the same time directed their energy, with great dignity and intelligence to overcome any move which might lead to the isolation of Japan in world politics, and to change the current of adverse world public opinion against their world policies. The Japanese statesmen decided to give up all adventures in the Far East which might be interpreted as imperialistic and expansionist. Japanese forces were withdrawn from Russian territories ; Japan returned Shantung to China and tried to find out means by which the Russian and Chinese statesmen might be convinced that Japan had no aggressive policy against China or Russia and that a friendly understanding with Japan will be to their advantage and mutual security.

"Forsaken by her Western friends, as Japan saw it at the Washington Conference, she made up her mind then and there to alter her diplomatic orientation with a view to seek new friends among her immediate neighbours, that is those on the Asiatic continent. The result has been discernable in her recognition of Soviet Russia, her fraternization with China, her conclusion of "equal treaties" with Persia and Turkey, and her friendly attitude towards Siam. Japan, in short, has turned a new leaf in her book of diplomacy. She has learned that her destiny lies in the East, and that her fortunes are so closely bound up with those of her Asian neighbours that she cannot afford to jeopardise their friendship in order to please the western powers."

In 1924, Great Britain with some support from the United States, tried to internationalise the Chinese railroads ; but Japan opposed this scheme, and helped China to preserve her railroads from foreign control. "No one can fail to notice the friendly relations existing between the Japanese and the Chinese delegations at the League of Nations. Whether on the opium question or on the question of seating of China at the Council of the League of Nations, Japan has always extended a helping hand to the Chinese delegation." It is clear to all that Japan is willing to aid China to recover "economic independence" as well as full sovereignty by revising the unequal treaties. Japan is not only acting with strict neutrality in the Civil War of China, but watching against any possible international action which may hurt Chinese independence.

VI

Japan's present foreign policy can be termed as "the policy of enlightened peace" with all nations. After the

Washington Conference, the United States Government not only ended the then existing Gentleman's Agreement—Root-Takahira Agreement—but enacted the Japanese Exclusion Law. In spite of this humiliation, however, she is cultivating friendly relations with America in every possible way. Japan's policy towards Mexico and all other Latin American countries has been most cordial. She is trying to expand her commerce and emigration in that region.

Japan's policy towards Asian states, as it has been noted above, is most friendly. Japan has a loyal friend in France ; Japan wishes to remain in peace with Russia. It seems that Russia for her own security needs Japanese friendship ; and thus there is no possibility of any Russo-Japanese hostility in the near future. German-Japanese relations, in themselves, were satisfactory except on two occasions. Germany supported Russia against Japan after the Sino-Japanese War, and then later on took Shantung as a sphere of influence in China. Japan fought against-Germany during the World War and eliminated Germany from China and the Far East. To-day there is no reason for any form of German-Japanese misunderstanding ; because Germany has no such political ambition in Eastern Asia, as may hurt Japan. As the present policy of Russia is not anti-Japanese and not anti-Chinese, and as the German policy is not to be hostile to Russia, there is no reason why there cannot be closer relations between Germany, Russia and Japan.

It seems that when Lloyd George's Government to please the American Government gave up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, it did not realize that Japan will be able to develop an independent foreign policy which may not be very pleasing to Great Britain. Japan's independent foreign policy in China has hurt Britain and increased Japanese prestige and power in the Far East. Japan's cordial relations with Russia is not an asset to British diplomacy. As Japan has no cause for quarrel with Germany, France or any other power, and as Japan is determined not to fight America, even if she be insulted by American immigration laws, it shows that Japan is working out her new foreign policy based upon national security and "enlightened peace" with all nations.

Japan's freedom from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is an asset to Japan and to the cause of world peace, because Japan cannot be called upon to fight other nations to uphold British imperialist policy; and without Japanese support Britain will have to be hesitant in adopting any aggressive policy which may lead to a war against Russia. Of course there is a possibility that Japan may face Anglo-American hostility. But if Japan can maintain cordial relations with the rest of the world, the Anglo-American powers may come to the conclusion that it would not be to their own interest to pursue a hostile policy towards Japan. The present foreign policy of Japan is an asset to the cause of Asian Independence and World Peace.

TARAKNATH DAS

ABSENCE

You are gone! Gone!
How true I know that to be.
The silence echoes with silence
And now there is—me.
I am alone and unwanted,
And—I am free.
But a shroud is over my freedom
A mask fitted over its face.
Two candles flicker and sputter
In the vault of its burying place.

LINWELL ROHL

THE PROBLEM OF REALITY

The monistic Indian philosophy, called the *Shaiva* and the *Shâkta Âgama*, may be said to be based on the concept that existence cannot arise out of non-existence (*Ex nihilo nihil fit*). So that complete absence of manifestation would be interpreted by these *Shâstras* as the conserved state of the active principle that causes manifestation, and not the actual absence of it. Properly speaking this interpretation is really derived from the true idea of Reality or *Sat Vastu*, which is ever existent either in an express or in a latent form. This seems to bo the ruling principle of this philosophy throughout; and so it asserts that the phenomenal and ever-changing world, both psychical and sensual, arose out of a Reality, which is noumenal and so spiritual or rather metaphysical in Its nature; and that materiality is nothing but an artificial and evanescent aspect of the activity of this Reality. Once we admit this, there will be no difficulty in our comprehending that such a Reality is the fundamental and essential cause and also the basis of all empirical experiences of the universe, including our own selves, *i.e.*, body and soul. So that this Reality is to be conceived as both cognizing and cognoscible: a fact always to be remembered as the real cause of all our experience and knowledge. Ordinarily man must attain any knowledge through some persistent system of modes, occurring in the consciousness inherent in him. But how does his consciousness undergo any such mode—surely it is by the influence of something, which is powerful enough to affect human consciousness itself; in fact, we shall see later on, that this power does not come from outside, but is inherent in human consciousness, which is liable to be excited by any external cause, that possesses, it is believed, a similar sort of immanent consciousness in it. Thus the experience of the universe is nothing more than apprehensions of the play of and by active Consciousness or *Chit*, the primordial Reality.

Professor Eddington, in his attempt to ascribe a reason, as to why the significance of the external world always affects similarly and in the same sense all conscious beings, has hit upon an aspect of this active Reality. He thinks that he has found out a common element, which, he says, is the essence, conducive to the apprehension of the external world in the same manner by all conscious beings always ; and he states that—"The external world is not a mere duplication of the presentation of it in any one man's mind ; it is a symposium of the presentations to individuals in all sorts of circumstances."[1] But how can this symposiac essence affect all conscious beings in the same way always, unless it be also the essence of the consciousness of all conscious beings, as well as of the concept of Reality inherent in the external world ; thus this essence is the principle that cognizes and becomes cognoscible to create any experience. This is an axiomatic truth, without knowing which, the Indian philosophies become quite unintelligible. And this conception is fully in concordance with the *Shaiva-Shâkta* doctrine, called *Satkâryavâda* or *Parinâmavâda* of Consciousness or *Chit* as active Reality.

But in as much as a fundamental thing cannot be explained in terms more simple, as that would destroy its fundamentality, so, properly speaking, it is impossible to define such Reality by the help of language of thought only. Curtly speaking, it can be said that Reality pertains to the idea of that persistence of existence, which supports and survives all changeful phenomena ; since, "persistence is the criterion of Reality."

Moreover, we find that although phenomenality is ephemeral, its effect persists always on the mind of conscious beings as apprehensions. People come and go, but their life-history persists in the form of thought as knowledge attained by them through experience, and displayed in the examples of life set by them. Thus knowledge, through its permanent effect, may be said to affect human mind as manifestations of Reality, which is also considered as the common and essential root, as well as the basis, of all apprehensions in the universe. The universe again consists of nothing but a bundle of experiences of the activities of Reality. According to Dr. Eriksen, who has followed out the principle of four-dimensionality (through the help of the theory of Relativity, seen from its absolute side) in the domain of psychology, in his work called "Consciousness, Life and the Fourth-Dimension"—"immortality and eternity involve a question, which must be treated from the standpoint of spirituality in its relation to materiality."[1] So that spirituality and materiality are to be interpreted as related to each other by an idea of Reality as their common basis.

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[1] "Science, Religion and Reality," p. 192.

Humanity is ever immersed in the apprehensions of phenomenality, that no doubt, is ever felt as a process of changefulness, constituting the world-flow. Yet it is not very difficult to discern that even in this system of world-flow, similar to what is felt in the case of a running stream (*Santána*), there is an experience of stability or immutability in the form of persistence of appearance, at its back, that lends colour of prominency to the idea of a continuum of all cosmic events, somewhat resembling the nature of a recurring decimal in arithmetic. This experience of stability or aspect of immutability in persistence is really the index, that points towards the opposite pole to phenomenality, which must be the conception of Reality. Humanity, therefore, should be always mindful of this idea of stability in persistence to constitute a complete knowledge of phenomenality, as distinct from Reality itself. Mr. Joseph Needham, in his contribution entitled "The Domain of Physical Science" to the work called "Science, Religion and Reality," has said that—"As an example we might adduce our knowledge of the nervous system of man.

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[1] P. 213.

It has been studied from three main directions: experimental psychology has examined it, bio-chemistry has studied its metabolism and its chemical composition, and bio-physics has collected data about its electric phenomena. But no one has yet synthesised these items of knowledge into one unitary whole."[1] This "unitary whole" is possible to be recognised only in the root Experience, which again involves the idea of a Reality, and is called the Supreme Experience.

The concept of such a fundamental Reality has actually been conceived and ascribed by the *Âryya Rishis* to Consciousness, when taken in its widest sense; and this is technically known as *Chit* or *Chaitanya*. This, as the primordial stuff, evolves into the experiences of all the phenomenal world, including the experiences of life, mind, intelligence and all undefinable functional attributes of living and rational beings. It is believed that the experience of creation or evolution is primarily due to a vibration or some sort of motion happening in the continuum of the primordial stuff. The conception of inactive Reality is next to impossibility for ordinary human understanding, given to external experiences only. However, since this motion takes place in a purely metaphysical continuum, its nature should be conceived to possess mainly a psychical aspect; yet motion in its mechanical sense should also be conceived to have a motional or mechanistic aspect. Here it may be said that the psychical aspect may become converted into mechanical aspect by being veiled by *Tàmas Guna*. Accordingly the mechanical aspect of motion has the potency to make things assume objective aspects quite different from what they really are, and so these aspective and objective appearances or presentations are more or less artificial. Thus, although in the beginning, for want of any feeling of materiality or substantivity, this motion should be conceived to be purely psychical in nature, yet for proper human comprehension it should be considered from two distinct aspects

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[1] P. 222.

—motional and psychical. But aspects of phenomena are always artificial in the strictest sense, and not real. Nevertheless, the idea of something being more persistent in existence becomes prominent as we proceed towards generic and complex aspects of phenomena. Thus in our ordinary experience of the physical world, we find that the idea of species survives the idea of individuals and the idea of genera survives the idea of species. This sort of comparative experience of permanency has led us to a knowledge, wherefor we say, that the province of science is generalisation; that is to say, from considering the respective individuals we proceed to consider groups of individuals, and thereby philosophically deduce some general law as the result of our experience, that induces in us some idea of persistence of existence amongst the changefulness of the phenomenal world.

Mankind is supposed to be the perfection of creation, since it is said that " man is the epitome of the whole creation "—and the datum of such perfection probably comes from the fact that creation originated from and with a Reality, which must have been a perfection of knowledge and experience. The philosophical doctrine of *tabula rasa* does not seem to be tenable in relation to any particular empirical experience even, and it is much more so with regard to what we understand as Reality; because unless Reality be conceived to be a storehouse of all sorts of experiences, at least in their most generic and complex and synthesized form, then how could it have possibly, in its evolved form of individual consciousness, assimilated and distinguished the several particular and all other experiences of purely empirical nature. The seed of all empirical experiences must be in the Supreme Experience as Its content; and it is for this reason that Mr. J. E. Turner, in his book called "Personality and Reality," considers that the active Reality has an aspect of complexity and plasticity. Here we must note that differentiation of phenomena forms the real source of all our knowledge. Yet human nature is eternally subject to a craving for experiencing worldly happiness called *Bhaumânanda*. It can seldom shake off this craving habit. Thus it appears to be due to the idea that there is something wanting or incomplete in the very nature of the experience of existence of man. And this idea of negation can never be appeased by following the materialistic and so worldly and artificial path; *i.e.*, this appeasement can never be attained through the satisfaction of the material senses; although however, the same may bring on a feeling of satiation in some particular direction only. But why is this feeling of want or imperfectness of experience so natural to humanity? Creation must have resulted from the evolution of a fundamental stuff, which is Being-Consciousness-Bliss (*Sachchidânanda*), the essence or essentiality of Experience, and so Full. By being evolved the Full becomes limited, and hence the hankering after worldly happiness with the vain hope of attaining Bliss or *Brahmânanda* and becoming Full again.

Accordingly, we are led to presume that phenomenality presupposes experience of stability and immutability at its back, in the form of a conception that conveys the idea of a principle, as cannot be affected by efflux of time or distance of space, like the blueness of the sky. Again by properly analysing any experience of phenomenality, we can readily arrive at the concepts of space and of time, as the true elements out of which arose all notions of differentiation between phenomenalities; yet in imagination these concepts are possible to be easily transcended by a notion of immutability. But these concepts of space and of time are almost always of the same nature with all conscious beings, so that they must involve the idea of the same modifications of one Reality as their common basis. Thus, in as much as the idea of such a Reality lends colour to the sense of permanency or immutability inherent in human nature, so this is the reason why people seek to celebrate the anniversary of an eventful incident. Yet we cannot sensually perceive Reality because It is always beyond the scope of all our senses or instruments for apprehending empirical experiences, *i.e.*, the true nature of Reality, being purely metaphysical, always transcends all its evoluting aspects, which of course include all our senses; the latter being more or less material and so artificial. Properly speaking, the apprehension of the true nature of Reality pertains to the stage prior to the evolutions of our senses. Thus it is said that by evolution spirit becomes matter, and since the datum of such a Reality of a permanent nature ever appeals to us, so it is also said that "Spirit can alone know Spirit."

In discussing the nature of Reality, the "Sûta Sanghitâ" succinctly (*Samâsena*) says :—

(1) "*Ya âtmâ kevalaḥ shuddho nirvikâro niranjanaḥ*
Sa eva nitya-schin-mâtraḥ sâkshî sarvasya sarvadâ."

Here *Âtmâ* implies the essential Being (*Sattâ*), that pervades and penetrates (*Atati*) everywhere and everything. As its physical counterpart we may cite the Ether of space, as conceived by Sir Oliver Lodge in his work called "Ether and Reality." According to him, Ether, although possessing material properties is not matter actually ; similarly Reality should be considered as rather super-spiritual, but containing potential materiality within It. The explanation of the above *Shloka* is—A pervading and immanent, and so omnipresent Principle, which is absolutely stainless (stain of course arose from the effects of the action of *Mâyâ*, the generatrix of the concepts of space and of time and so may be said to possess material properties) and transcends or goes beyond the experience of all evoluting aspects of *Chit* and is so pure, is called Reality ; His substance is nothing but Consciouness (*Chit*) Itself, and He (the only conscious Being always present) ever presides as the sole eye-witness and so apprehender and experiencer of all evolutionary processes *Chit*, as the sole fundamental Reality, undergoes to create phenomenality. The above-cited *Shâstra* further says that for the apprehension of phenomenality, *Chit* at once assumes two features in a flux—one of which is called the *Bhávángsha* or the Being-feature, which is at bottom a form of *Chit* (*Chidákára*) : and the other the *Vrittyangsha* or the functioning feature, which is liable to destruction due to its phenomenal and artificial character (*Jaḍatvát-kumbha-vastu-vat*). The first on being reproduced by subjectification, assumes the subject-aspect of *Chit* a; the experiencer or *Jñátá* and is called *Shiva*, whereas the second, the flux of subjective-presentation-aspect of a noumenal presentation, being the cause of all experiences (*Káranángshaka*), is named *Shakti*. But both are based no doubt on the same ground, *Chit*. Does not this amount to saying that active Reality is both cognizing and cognoscible at the same time? The experiencer aspect, being supersensual and so less objectifiable and not reproducible [1] is more permanent (*Chidangsho naiva nashtaḥ syádadrishtatvát*) than the subjective presentation-aspect of an object, and the latter results in nothing more than an apprehension at first, that causes, by the manifestation of *Sattva Guṇa*, a phase in *Chit*, which forms the subject by merger of the flow of subjective presentation in a subject-centre. This apprehension on going to the subjective side of consciousness becomes one with the subject itself, and so is said to reproduce the subject.

Thus the system of Indian philosophy, called the *Shaiva-Shákta Darshana*, starts the evolution of the universe with a presence, which it conceives to be the ultimate Being (*Sattá*) as Reality, and which is described by it as the transcendental, quiescent *Brahman* as *Paramashiva*. This is nothing but Consciousness or *Chit* in Its true nature (*Svarúpataḥ*) at *Mahápralaya* or final abstraction during Dissolution. Creation or *Srishti*, which implies generations of fluxes of complex apprehensions due to psychical activity, is supposed for our comprehension to begin afresh from the absolutely motionless and inactive state of Reality, whose only attribute then may be conceived to be homogeneity and pervasiveness or super-gaseousness ; and it is said by Sir John Woodroffe that—"In this Infinite Calm there arises a metaphysical Point of Stress or *Bindu* or *Ghanîbhûtâ Shakti,* which stirs forth (*Prasarati*) as the multiple forces of the universe. This energising is the cause of, and as *Jivâtmâ* is, the world experience with its duality of subject and object.''[1] So that in this Infinite Calm, inactive Reality, manifestation commences with the appearance therein of a psychically kinetic principle called *Shakti,* in the form of the Will of *Shiva,* because this Will is preceded by a feeling of Fullness. At first this may be supposed to cause a (mechanically seen) whirling movement to take place in the homogeneous continuum, since only such a motion is possible in a homogeneous medium; and thus thereby it is also supposed to reduce the primordial dreamlessly sleeping continuum into a dynamic sphere of an awakened conscious presence. In this sphere, creation or "seeming development (Parinâma),'' as is understood by the same *Darshana* philosophy, is conceived to commence with a flow of presentative manifestations of consciousness, that causes apprehensions of its *Vrittyangsha,* to a subjective consciousness or *Bhâvângsha,* due, as is supposed, to locomotions taking place in the actively conscious dynamic medium. Thus the duality of subject and obiect is generated in this way.

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[1] See "Subjectivation and Objectivation," C. L. and F., p. 4.

By the Will of *Shiva* to evolve is meant that no special aim can be assigned to Him for this manifestation, like the reflecting power of a looking-glass; and it is said :—

(2) "*Prayojanam-anuddishya na mando'pi pravartate*
Yadi prayojanoddesho hiyetânanda-rûpatâ''

which means that—It is true that even an ignorant person will not engage to do anything without any special aim, yet if we assign any such aim to *Shiva,* that will simply derogate His form as Bliss, an Experience derived from His feeling of Fullness and so involving an idea of complete Independence (*Svatantratâ*) or perfect Freedom from any other active aspect of Reality, He being the first of this aspective nature.

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[1] "Garland of Letters,'' p. 2.

The antonym for phenomenality is awakened Reality also called *Tat-Sat,* which is the idea of *Shiva* in the *Âgama Shâstra*. But *Vedânta* calls the primordial substance *Brahman* or inactive or dead Reality, which is supposed subsequently to revive and entertain the will to evolve—*Sa aikshata—Bahu syâm—Prajâyeya.* He saw (His Fullness) and felt that He would be Many and then began to evolve. This involves an idea of motion, which should be considered both mechanical and psychical in aspects, whereby It became both cognoscible and cognising. Technically, Reality, in Its aspective attitude, is known as *Sakala Brahman*; where *Kalâ* means *Prakriti* or *Shakti,* whose substance is *Triguṇa—Sattva, Rajas, Tamas.* Here it may be said that the psychical aspect of this motion, being surveyed as the effect of *Tamas Guṇa,* shows the objective presentation merely of the activity in question and presents only a mechanically kinetic aspect thereof which is conditioned by the ideas of space and of time. The effects of the three *Guṇas* may be explained thus—it is *Rajas Guṇa* that makes *Chit* active and urges Its manifestation for a presentation, but, in case of prevalence of *Tamas Guṇa,* the objective presentation alone of such manifestation appears as the mechanical aspect of the activity; whereas the subjective presentation thereof, being due to the prevalence of *Rajas Guṇa* alone, after its merger in or absorption by the subject consciousness or *Bhâvângsha, i.e.,* when *Kalâ* or *Shakti* becomes *Vimarsha* or conserved, manifests as the effect of *Sattva Guṇa.* So that the inactive Reality, which is *Nishkala Brahman,* or as it should be before the advent of the disturbance of *Triguṇa,* is an abstract idea that can hardly be expressed in terms of our thought, because therein there is no concreteness in the form of a presentation at all, not even the Selfhood of *Asmitâ*; so much so that It is beyond the notion that It may assume the aspect of a mingled coalescence of the potential Subject with the potential apprehensions of objects. This latter aspect may be said to be the attributive aspect of Fullness of Experience. We can guess some idea of such an abstract substance, simply for Its entertaining the Will to evolve and the subsequent apprehensions of aspects of evolutions It undergoes to create phenomenality, mainly through the operation of the notion of the Subject and its presentations. Accordingly this Will is called the *Shakti* or power of the first subject or *Shiva* ; because *Shakti* is supposed to be in the form of Energy or Power, that really causes all apprehensions of manifestations, although Herself arising spontaneously to affect the substance of the Subject or apprehender.

The word *Shakti* is derived from the root *Shaka* which means to be able to do something. Consequently *Shakti* implies the potency that brings on activity in a motionless and inactive continuum. Because *Brahman*, also known as Supreme Experience, is conceived to be both *Nishkala* and *Sakala*, so the former or the inactive Supreme·Experience holds the *Kālá* inherent or absorbed in it in a *Vimarsha* or latent state; and by the mingled coalescence of the Subject and its objects is meant the state, wherein the Subject does not feel its existence as yet quite separated from that of the apprehension of objects, in the absence of any presentation at all ; and so then both remain in the form of a solution of salt in water (*Samarasákára*) ; because *Shakti* the cause of manifestation still remains merged or absorbed in *Shiva* then. However, this coalesced condition may well represent the sensation of an alert conscious continuum of Experience for the proper apprehension by it of a presentation about to happen. This shows that subjectivity and objectivity both are potentially inherent in Reality. But how is this coalescence disturbed? By the appearance of the Will to evolve, similar to when the crystallising tendency appears by condensation in the brine solution.

As far as our mechanical or motional idea in relation to active Reality is concerned, a similar condensation process is supposed to take place within the body of the conscious active *Brahman* substance, being caused by movements mechanically resembling whirling motions, which happen within the original conscious but dreamlessly sleeping or seemingly dead homogeneous medium, due to its abovementioned Will or *Shakti*. Through the condensation caused by such whirling motions, a system of innumerable central points arose within the *Brahmân* continuum, the substance whereof is nothing but Consciousness proper. Of course these points appeared as punctualised but conscious presences, with cognizing power, and so forming centres of "Self-feeling," as well as of all subsequent empirical and other experiences. These centres took the forms of *Anu* or rather *Paramânu* each ; and so the process is called the origin of *Ânava Mala* in *Âgama* philosophy. This is also the origin of the flux of Selfhood. By this system of punctualisation, *Brahman*, which had been originally homogeneous, afterwards became full of heterogeneity, consisting of condensed points of Consciousness or Experience, that would assume subjectified aspects, as the result of the process of subjectivation later on. Thus in the medium of this heterogeneity, it became possible for the *Shakti* residing in these subjective centres to go out in locomotion, tangentially to the points, to create presentations, but carrying with Her at the same time the seed or potency to apprehend such presentations, in the form of experiences derived from the subjective aspect called *Shiva* ; this is supposed to be due to the "complexity and plasticity" of the punctualised aspects of active Supreme Experience. This is just like, when we do a thing, it bears testimony of our existence in the form of the fruit of our will to do it. Thus *Brahman* became endowed with the limitation (*Upâdhi*) of *Mâyâ* (*Mâyinantu Maheshvaram*). In other words, the calmness of *Brahman* being disturbed, It awakened and commenced experiencing quite a new line of experiences, different from the inactive but introspective Supreme Experience. Of course this new line of experiences constitutes the experiences of the presentations of all cosmical activity, which sets in upon taking the forms of commencement of world-manifestation.

This is why *Shakti* is called *Shiva-rûpa-vimarsha-nirmalâdarsha* or the latent cause that made *Shiva* or awakened Reality experience something new, and thus caused an apprehension of a presentation in Him which on being subjectified by merger, makes Him feel His *own* existence, as a particular point in the flux of a presentation of Selfhood arising out of active Supreme Experience surrounding Him, and this is actually the seed and centre of all future apprehension of manifestation of the phenomenal world. The expression "own" here is due to the experience of the first reproduced and subjectified aspect of the first subjective presentation as the dominant "I," explained later on. Thus the above result, which was conceived through mechanistically motional differentiation, is also supposed to produce the psychological differentiation of Subject and Object, which of course was a stage other than absolute. So that by creation, what is understood, is really the apprehension of presentations by a reproduced subject consciousness, possessing cognizing power. Although by these apprehensions the original Subject became changed to some extent by repeated reproducing processes, the substance of the first Subject is unconditioned knowledge or wisdom and He is called *Jnânamaya*. He is ever-existent as a wakeful Being, and He is known as changeless *Shiva*, the perfect Knower; His attributes, as explained in "Virupâksha-Panchâshikâ," are Lordliness, Activity, complete Independence or perfect Freedom, Consciousness Itself, and so on. It should be noted here that unlike *Shiva* all subsequently reproduced subject is always dependent upon the existence of the first Subjective apprehender and the presentation to It.

Thus the process called creation really consists of motional presentations to, and their repeated apprehensions by, Consciousness in the form of repeated, reproduced, subjective, active reality; the presentations appearing as manifestations of contents of past potencies, that were in *Laya* or time of Dissolution conceived as potentialities. So that then the Supreme Experience had become merely the possibility of all cosmic experiences. But the above manifestation is supposed to commence with a process, which may be psychologically believed to be a subjectivation-objectivation differentiation of the homogeneous primordial stuff, as mentioned above. According to *Shâstra* this happened by a process called *Ahangkriti* or the creation of the Self; because the first limited experience, that arose as mentioned above, in the absolute unlimited inactive Supreme Experience, was the experience of a flux of Selfhood called *Asmitâ*, which by reproduction, generated the "Dominant real Personality" which is different from the "Real whole" and became Its persistent feature as Self.[1] This *Asmitâ* as self, the Universal Self, is the most persistent of all persistencies of the empiric world, and is defined as:—

(3) "*Ahameko'nastamita-prakâsharûpo'smi tejasâng tamasâm Antah-sthita-mamânta-stejângsi tamângsi chaikasya.*"

That is, the first subjectified (central) aspect of this *Asmitâ* is perceived as the presence of an experience of the existence of "I" or Self, which before being reproduced by the first subjectivation of a presentation, is without a second, and which illumines in the form of the existence of a (conscious) Being, having consciousness establishing a relation between the manifested and the unmanifested conditions of the universe (through causality), in the form of a principle that knows no setting. Because these manifested and unmanifested conditions of the universe are concepts merely of the Subject "I," the "Dominant real Personality" and the sole existing Being then, as the derivative of (awakened) Reality. This is the first feeling of the first central Subject. Now, because the primordial Reality is Consciousness Itself, so every condensed point in It, or more properly in the flux of Selfhood, is conscious enough to constitute a distinct centre possessing sufficient cognizing power. This is really the first and higher "Self-Feeling."

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[1] "Personality and Reality."

But Reality, which is both cognizing and cognoscible, is a monistic principle, and so It establishes the basis of the unity of Selfhood. From this we may say that, it is almost an established theory of the day, that from some sort of fundamental Being (*Sattá*), as the subjective and essential cause, and through the means of Its some sort of movement or initial motion as the efficient and instrumental cause, the dualistic world should be supposed to have arisen. The modern tendency, if we may say so, is to avoid dualistic view as much as we can, and to try to arrive at a monistic principle, in every branch of human knowledge. As a result of this, constant efforts are being directed to explain the otherwise inexplicable, mechanical or mechanistic attributes of Nature, as due to the potency of electricity and magnetism. But what is electricity or magnetism nobody can define properly. Accordingly to explain the structure of matter, recourse is being had now-a-days to the Electron and Electro-magnetic theories of modern science. But we should always remember that phenomenality consists of the three processes of creation, maintenance and dissolution, going on simultaneously for ever. Thus electricity and magnetism in their manifested form can never be without these three operations happening continuously and simultaneously, whereby energy is believed to be conserved as often as She is manifested.

Dr. Eriksen, as has already been stated, did apply the principle of four-dimensionality in the field of psychology, whereby he has been able to consider the psychical and mechanical activities of Consciousness or *Chit* together, and by so doing has arrived at conclusions that admirably help to explain some of the doctrines inculcated by the *Shaiva* and the *Shákta* philosophy of India. According to him, the mechanical or motional side may be thought of as due to Force or outgoing Power, which, we may add, by following the principle of Indian psychology, is exercised by the subject *Shiva*, to apprehend an objective or motional presentation only ; similarly the psychical side may be thought of as due to Energy or more properly incoming Power, which we may call, by following the same principle, *Shakti* or *Jnâna*, required for the determination by the subjective side of the same presentation. To show the relation between the motional or mechanical and the psychical active aspects of Consciousness or *Chit* and so of active Reality, it is stated that, pursuant to the conception of the Indian psychology, as taught by the *Âgama Shâstra*, when a subject aspect of immanent consciousness surveys a presentation, the subjective capacity in the form of Mind (*Manas*) goes out to the object, and then as intellect (*Buddhi*), the means of forming a determined idea of the object, assumes the form of the presentation so surveyed; up to this the influence of Force acts, and thereafter returns to the subject consciousness as Energy, to be finally merged or conserved in it. This is why both the cognizing and cognoscible aspects are ascribed to Consciousness or *Chit* as stated already.

The process described above actually represents how an apprehension and conviction should be formed. Here *Manas* and *Buddhi* are to be taken as functions of mind (*Antaḥkaraṇa*), and so are *Vrittis* or modes of Consciousness or *Chit*. In the opinion of Dr. Eriksen, the first course is called the objective presentation (due to the manifestation of *Tamas Guṇa* when impelled by *Rajas Guṇa*) and the second course (technically known as *Vitti* or *Jnâna*) is called the subjective presentation of the object (through the manifestation of *Rajas Guṇa*); whereas by the ultimate merger in Consciousness is understood the psychical process resulting in a conviction through the complete subjectification of apprehension of the presentation, whereby the particular experience becomes punctualised or centralised to a point like the feeling of Self, and *Shakti* becomes *Vimarsha* or conserved. This is the manifestation of *Sattva Guna*, and it happens through the idea of simultaneity of the activity caused by a presentation with the activity that has already resulted in the apprehension of *Asmitâ* or "self-feeling."

The first idea of a punctualised sensation of Experience is technically called *Bindu* and is felt as the Self or Dominant real, the subjectified central aspect of Consciousness, from which the Power of the Self starts Her locomotions, to create presentations, objective and subjective. Thus the idea of Power includes both Force and Energy, and it is said :—

> (4). " *Vedyang sakrama-viddhang vittim-anupravishad anga-vishayâdyam*
> *Veditari vittimukhato lînang tallakshanang bhavati* "

The phenomenal or objective presentation of a manifestation (*Vedyang*), is endowed with its own course of motion (due to *Rajas Guṇa*), and between the object and the subject, this course enters into the form of a subjective presentation or *Vitti*, due to the manifestation of *Rajas Guṇa*, such latter presentation creates the apprehension of either the body of the apprehender or the external world as apprehended by him ; but this subjective presentation, upon riding on ahead of the course of flow of this *Vitti* or *Jnâna*, ultimately merges in the experiencer's consciousness and adopts the characteristic of him, *i.e.*, embellishes the experience of the subjective *Jñâtâ* himself ; and this becomes the manifestation of *Sattva Guṇa*, whereby arises the idea of four-dimensionality, as we shall see later on. This proves the truth of what is meant by saying— that the external world is not a mere duplication of it in any one man's mind.

According to Sir John Woodroffe, " Finite experience is that which is had through Mind and Body, which are the products of the finitising principle of *Chit* which is called Supreme Power or *Mahâshakti*." By merger the course of *Jnâna*, notwithstanding its being impelled by *Rajas Guṇa*, becomes lost, (*Srota-ivâbdhau*) like the river in the ocean, *i.e.*, the special movement becomes lost in the generic movement, or the special experience becomes fused with the generic and kinetic Supreme Experience, which has already assumed the form of *Asmitâ* as Self. From this, it is shown, that real experience must be a part of the Experience of "I" or Self, the central Experience, with a centripetal force of intension, existing at all times in the form assumed by Supreme Experience as subjectified active reality, in evolution. Thus all true knowledge is possible to be gained through fusion of apprehension with the experience of Self alone and not otherwise. So it is said "Be not selfish, but be a knower of the Self." Accordingly the search for Reality can never be expected to prove successful, if and when conducted through the external world only, in the ordinary sense of objective presentations; but it will charm the enquirer if he will prosecute the enquiry through the apprehension of the Self, which may be said to constitute the symposiac "essence" of Eddington's "external world."[1]

According to the terminology of *Âgama* philosophy, the primordial, inactive Reality, which the "Vedânta" calls *Brahman*, is named *Chit* or *Sangvid*; and it has been rendered by Sir John Woodroffe as Consciousness in his work called "Shakti and Shâkta," as also Supreme Experience. This *Chit*, which is a psychical presence, undergoes a process of evolution, whereby at first repeated four-dimensional experiences occur to Self, all which are ultimately, by the separation of the idea of time from that of space, are reduced to the experiences of the phenomenal world.

The above-mentioned changes in evolution can be traced serially through successive four-dimensional phases as perceived by the Self. Again these phases of experience, which are real helps for the proper syntheses and realisations of all empirical experiences, through the light of their four-dimensional or space-time aspects (because they are both motional and psychical), are technically called *Tattvas*. And they, for the purpose of being properly apprehended, should be considered as both motional and psychical or objective and subjective presentations to Self, the subject consciousness or *Bhâvângsha*. These

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[1] *Cf.* S. R. and R., pp. 191-2.

Tattvas are enumerated by the *Âgama* philosophy as Thirty-six in number, *i.e.*, eleven more than the counting of the "Sângkhya Darshana," whose counting, of course, is also adopted by the *Âgama Shâstra* in almost the same sense.

The *Tattvas* are always four-dimensional, subjectified experiences concerning the presentations regarding the evolution of active Reality, which in the subjective sense appeared as "awakened" and in the objective sense as full of activity. But the first of these limited or conditioned apprehensions of presentations appeared as an apprehension of extension to the already contracted or intensive active and awakened Supreme Experience called Self, and was felt as *Tatatva*, a *Tâmasika* presentation, or more properly as subjective *Santatatva* presentation (a *Râjasika* manifestation) ; but the experience of first extension, on being completely subjectified by merger in the subject, psychically contracts in experience, and the two together are felt as the result of both extension and intension of experience, but separately may be said, to go to generate empirically the concepts of objective space and of objective time respectively. These two experiences of *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* are felt almost simultaneously with the experience of *Asmitâ* as self. Accordingly *Tattva* is defined as follows :—

(5) "*Tatatvât santatatvâchcha tattvânîti tato viduḥ*
Tatatvang deshato vyâptih santatatvancha kâlataḥ."

That is, *Tatatva* means apprehension of a limited extension or spatial diffusion (as opposed to all-pervasion) in Experience, which is being defined by the first experience of locomotion by the point-like Self, and is felt as an objective presentation; whereas *Santatatva* is the experience of a subjective presentation aspect of that objective presentation, whereby the *Asmtiâ* consciousness as Self appears as occupying that objective presentation of diffusion, as constituting a continuity of consecutive presences of Self (since experience is always a continuum) in

a succession of repeated endings and beginnings of the presences of Self, arising out of the psychically motional experience of rest in motion. This is just like the conception of a line being composed of a complexity of contiguous placings of points showing a continuity. The meaning of the above *Shloka* is that, a *Tattva* (a manifestation of *Sattva Guṇa*) is so called because there are both *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* experiences present in it simultaneously (space-time experience). This of course happens when the subjective presentation aspect merges in the subject or the *Vitti* or *Shakti* becomes conserved. Here we may profitably quote Mr. Turner, who says—that "the synthesizing activity in any given combination springs from the character of all its factors."[1] Again *Tatatva* has its pervasion in space, *i.e.*, it induces the idea of space, and *Santatatva* has its pervasion of experience in succession of time. Thus these two experiences ultimately and independently develop into feelings that cause experiences of empirical space and empirical time respectively. Because the latter is due to the idea generated in the proper surveying of the continuity of *Tatatva* experience, as a succession or sequence of beginnings and endings of the different positions of Self or the subjectified and centralised Experience, in the course of its moving attitude, while tending towards the attainment of empirical experiences of the phenomenal world. But this continuity means successive points in space, which the Self occupies in a time-succession, during the course of its first locomotion. Hence a feeling or experience arises in Self, which ultimately ripens into the idea of past, present and future This is technically called *Santatatva*.

Now the Self on the subjective side, owing to its psychic activity, is being constantly changed in the flux of Selfhood due to repeated presentations on the objective side; so that the result is the repeated reproduction of the subject in the form of "the self as qualified by a certain experience, feeling or activity,

different from others and not the self as such." Dr. Eriksen therefore says that—

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[1] "Personality and Reality," p. 50.

> "The subject or background is therefore practically never a *pure* subject but a subject identifying itself with various presentations, feelings or intentions in relation to the foreground, *i.e.*, the object or objects present to it." [1]

Again the *Santatatva* notion is apprehended purely as a subjective measure, so that any constancy in the experience thereof is ever denied due to its relativity with the repeated *Tatatva* conceptions, which are supposed to vary by every repeated reproduction of a new self by the subjectivation of an objective presentation to Self as qualified by the previous experience. Besides the Self itself is an aspect of active Reality. Accordingly Mr. Bertrand Russell says that—"The universal cosmic time which used to be taken for granted is thus no longer admissible. For each body (here self), there is a definite time-order for the events in its neighbourhood; this may be called the 'proper' time for that body." [2] Thus the idea of *Santatatva* must always be a relative term dependent for its significance on the presentation of *Tatatva* forming the genesis of the subjective apprehension of *Santatatva* in question by a given subjective centre. Further the *Santatatva* experience is the effect of the *Tatatva* motion coming back to its starting point upon describing a curve. So that properly speaking *Tatatva* is more the interval felt between events than a distance in space, in as much as the simultaneous conception of *Santatatva* brings on the notion of time in the feeling. Thus it becomes more or less a measurement of interval between events happening in space-time, *i.e.*, it is a four-dimensional experience or the conception of a *Tattva*. This is of course required to infer a physical fact as attached to the result of a process of purely psychical motion, to give it its mechanical

aspects. All this may be inferred from the newly found principle of relativity, which leans to look upon the ideas of space and time in the light of modifications of human consciousness having no attachment of physical validity with them. Consequently these terms are relative to the respective cognizing centres of Selves.

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[1] C. L. and F., p. 6.

[2] "The A. B. C. of Relativity," p. 50.

The *Tattvas* are classified into: (*a*) *Shuddha* (pure or psychical creation), (*b*) *Shuddhâshuddha* (pure-impure or physico-psychical creation) and (*c*) *Ashuddha* (impure or psycho-physical creation). The *Shuddha Tattvas* are (*a*) *Shiva-tattva*, (*b*) *Shakti-tattva*, (*c*) *Sadâshiva-tattva*, (*d*) *Īshvara-tattva* and (*e*) *Sadvidyâ-tattva*. The pure-impure or physico-psychical creation consists of: (*a*) *Kâla*, (*b*) *Niyati*, (*c*) *Râga*, (*d*) *Kalâ* and (*e*) *Vidyâ*. Here *Mâyâ* and Her *Kanchukas* intervene and create subsequently the *Ashuddha-tattvas*, comprising the Twenty-five gross *Tattvas*, enumerated by the "Sângkhya Darshana," commencing from *Purusha* and ending with *Kshiti*. Properly speaking *Tattvas* are phases of experience for descending from inactive but introspective Supreme Experience to the empirical and active experiences of the phenomenal world; and thus the Problem of God, which is a *Tattva*, becomes, really, an aspect of what we philosophically understand as the evolving Reality or active Supreme Experience.

BEPINBEHARI NEWGIE

ANCIENT INDIAN LIFE[1]

I

Attention of scholars was naturally drawn at first to what have been called the Sacred Books of the Hindus. But it must be admitted that as a result of their one-sided view an impression was created that the ancient Indians were more contemplative than practical, more emotional than rational, more given to the thoughts of the other world than to the interests of material life. That India was not inhabited by a race of ascetics, by Muni and Rishi only, living in the solitude of forests but by every conceivable variety of men actively engaged in various pursuits of life, and attained a state of material civilization as high as that of Europe before the birth of her modern science, has been abundantly proved by the study of some of the important sciences and arts of India. In political, economic, and social history ancient India stood unique, and when we think of the time the word, 'ancient' in India implies, her hoary antiquity, and the state of civilization with which the Rig-Veda begins the story, a question incessantly presses for an answer :—How has it been possible for her to retain her individuality as long as six thousand years? Aggressive aliens were not wanting to molest her peaceful and domestic occupations, attacks sometimes virulent and threatening her existence were not a rare phenomenon. Yet her ancient period is not exactly over ; India two thousand years old still lives in remote villages though in a precarious condition.

The question has exercised many minds, and the best and the most comprehensive answer I have so far found is summed up in one word, Dharma. Unfortunately the word has been wrongly rendered as religion and loosely employed by men who know better, and been a fruitful source of confusion of ideas landing us on observances of rituals and social customs on one hand, and highly speculative and metaphysical disquisitions on

the other. Yet we know whatever shades of meaning a word may have it seldom loses its central idea. I remember how a Census Enumerator was once at his wit's end to elicit from an unlettered Hindu answer to the question, "What is your Dharma?" The poor man looked this way and that and when repeatedly asked said in reply, "My dharma is my dharma." The answer was perfectly correct. For every individual has a dharma of his own on account of which he is what he is. The root meaning of the word is that which sustains. Thus the dharma of fire is to burn, and it is not fire if it does not burn. Hence when we are told that success attends dharma (*yato dharmastato jayaḥ*), or that the result of dharma is too subtle to be analysed (*dharmasya sūkshmā gatiḥ*) or that the cause of the uninterrupted existence of the Hindu civilization is its dharma, we are not much enlightened by the answer. That which sustains a man in this world and the next, as *Vaiśeshika darśana* puts it, that which is conducive to his well-being is dharma. In the Gītā, Śrīkrishṇa enunciated the principle of the survival of the fittest when he asked Arjuna to do what he was fit for. For it is less risky both to himself and his society than the assumption of duties for which he was not fit. It is, however, not mere birth or heredity but the advantages possessed by an individual in training, association and tradition and in external conditions, in fact his whole equipment provided both by nature as well as by nurture, that operates in giving him that character which leads to his survival in the battle of life. Hence an attempt to relinquish or repress one's dharma or *svadharma* is bound to breed distemper appearing in various forms of indifferentism and unhappiness as was about to be the case with Arjuna. But it is clear that dharma cannot but be a mode of life. Manu, therefore, defines dharma as 'āchāra,' the Mahābhārata makes it 'sadāchāra,'[1]—that is, 'right living, right conduct, right according to a certain standard.' Dharma is a means to an end, not the end in itself. Hence the standard has varied according to the person who follows it, and to the circumstances in which he is placed. Undoubtedly, dharma is eternal (*sanātana*); for every living being is constantly adjusting itself to its environment. When it is said that the dharma of the Hindus has the power of assimilating foreign elements the statement which we know to be true repeats the natural law of existence.

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[1] Adharchandra Mukherji Lecture.

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[1] See *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (III.11) for a concise account of *Sadāchāra*.

But what is right adjustment ? The thinkers of old did not leave the answer to be determined by one and each or by chance. They tried to formulate it in the form of Do's and Don't's in books called Dharma-śāstra. A Śāstra is a compendium of rules for practical guidance. For example, Gaṇita śāstra gives us rules of arithmetic, Vyākaraṇa śāstra, those of grammar. A śāstra is authoritative, its authority being derived from the fact of its having been compiled by an expert on the subject. It does not therefore give reasons. Unfortunately we are so far removed from the circumstances when the rules were compiled that it has become difficult for us to understand their genesis. The commentators whocam e later were in no better position, and having been brought up in an atmosphere different from the present have left untouched many points which puzzle us and possibly misconstrued many others. The existence of a large number of Dharmaśāstras,—Sūtras and saṁhitās, and also of Nibandhas or Bye-Laws points to one conclusion that they were the products of various times and various places and were not considered immutable.

These rules relate to man as an individual and as a member of a society. It is difficult to keep the two aspects separate. For whatever is beneficial to him as a man is beneficial to his society also, and *vice versâ*. Indeed, it has been stated in numerous passages in the Mahābhārata that the criterion of dharma is the good of society for which even an untruth may e uttered to save a human life.

Dharma being relative, Hindu Society has been a highly complex organisation, being composed of societies within societies. The origin of this division into orders and suborders has been a knotty question with historians. But since it is impossible to speak of Indian life without touching on the social aspect it is necessary to have at least a working hypothesis. The first question we should ask ourselves is, Was the classification natural or artificial? That is to say, did the Brāhmans classify the population into groups? It has been supposed that groups were at first functional, and these became in a later period lineal. There is, however, some difficulty in accepting this theory. In the first place, it does not explain the cause of the functional differentiation, especially in a community admittedly small like the first Aryan settlers in the Punjab. In the second place, the change from one to the other requires very long time, indeed enormous time. Are the Vedic scholars prepared to admit a very long period for the Rig-Veda alone? For they tell us that in the last book of the Rig-Veda in the famous hymn, Purusha sūkta, the Aryans are described as having been already divided into three classes and these together with the slaves formed the four classes, having distinct social status and occupation exactly similar to what we find in the next Veda, the Yajur Veda. We have recently learned to look upon a society as an organism. It is astonishing to find the same idea actually embodied in the hymn. Whether we consider the hymn as an interpolation or not the question remains unsolved. We are thus forced to admit that there existed among the Rig-Vedic Aryans some elements, some germs, which developed into classes. They were not unaware of the existence of classes, for instance, the panchajanāh. The society was therefore not homogeneous. In the third place, were the artisans of the Rig-Veda, Aryans,—the carpenter, the blacksmith, the goldsmith, the potter, the tanner, etc.? If so, where are their descendants now, and why were they not regarded as Aryans in later literature? I do not think there are now any artisan castes who claim descent from a Rishi.

All these difficulties disappear if we suppose that the Aryans when they came to India belonged to three races. The three had some common features. They were tall and fair and spoke the same language but differed in temperament, tradition and occupation. One had white skin, another reddish and the third yellowish. The natives of the land also belonged to different races, each with its racial characteristics but agreed in the black colour of the skin, in their features and habits. There were thus men of four colours in the Aryan settlement. The Mahābhārata (*Śāntiparva, Chap. 188*) has an interesting discussion on the origin of the four colours of the skin. It is expressly stated there that the Brāhmaṇas were created white, the Kshatriyas red, the Vaiśyas yellow, and the Śūdras black. But this explanation did not satisfy the querist who had noticed exceptions to the rule. He was next told that at the time of creation all men had white skin, but the difference in their occupation due to the difference in the bent of their mind gave rise to the distinctive colours of the skin. Apparently this explanation also failed to satisfy him. For exposure to the sun, for instance, as in agricultural practice, would make white skin look sun-burnt, but not yellow, and no occupation of the Śūdras could change white into black. Besides, modern science is rather against the transmission of acquired characters. The next attempt was to call in aid the theory of the *guṇas* 'sattva,' 'rajas' and 'tamas.' But grand though it is, and perhaps the most comprehensive theory ever conceived, it begs the question and does not in the least help us. Suśruta tried to explain the difference in the skin colour of parents and their progeny, and thought that it depended on food eaten by the mother during pregnancy. In other words, the green colouring matter of plants somehow or other gets deposited in the skin of the fœtus. The ancients could not believe that any intermixture of blood had been possible, and modern science would have been equally at sea to explain the appearance of black among white before the Mendelian law was established. It is, however, clear that the word Varṇa originally implied colour, and since the four classes possessed distinctive colours of their skin they form of *Asmitâ* as Self. From this, it is shown, that real experience must be a part of the Experience of "I" or Self, the central Experience, with a centripetal force of intension, existing at all times in the form assumed by Supreme Experience as subjectified active reality, in evolution. Thus all true knowledge is possible to be gained through fusion of apprehension with the experience of Self alone and not otherwise. So it is said "Be not selfish, but be a knower of the Self." Accordingly the search for Reality can never be expected to prove successful, if and when conducted through the external world only, in the ordinary sense of objective presentations; but it will charm the enquirer if he will prosecute the enquiry through the apprehension of the Self, which may be said to constitute the symposiac "essence" of Eddington's "external world."[1]

According to the terminology of *Âgama* philosophy, the primordial, inactive Reality, which the "Vedânta" calls *Brahman*, is named *Chit* or *Sangvid*; and it has been rendered by Sir John Woodroffe as Consciousness in his work called "Shakti and Shâkta," as also Supreme Experience. This *Chit*, which is a psychical presence, undergoes a process of evolution, whereby at first repeated four-dimensional experiences occur to Self, all which are ultimately, by the separation of the idea of time from that of space, are reduced to the experiences of the phenomenal world.

The above-mentioned changes in evolution can be traced serially through successive four-dimensional phases as perceived by the Self. Again these phases of experience, which are real helps for the proper syntheses and realisations of all empirical experiences, through the light of their four-dimensional or space-time aspects (because they are both motional and psychical), are technically called *Tattvas*. And they, for the purpose of being properly apprehended, should be considered as both motional and psychical or objective and subjective presentations to Self, the subject consciousness or *Bhâvângsha*. These

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Tattvas are enumerated by the *Âgama* philosophy as Thirty-six in number, *i.e.*, eleven more than the counting of the "Sângkhya Darshana," whose counting, of course, is also adopted by the *Âgama Shâstra* in almost the same sense.

The *Tattvas* are always four-dimensional, subjectified experiences concerning the presentations regarding the evolution of active Reality, which in the subjective sense appeared as "awakened" and in the objective sense as full of activity. But the first of these limited or conditioned apprehensions of presentations appeared as an apprehension of extension to the already contracted or intensive active and awakened Supreme Experience called Self, and was felt as *Tatatva*, a *Tâmasika* presentation, or more properly as subjective *Santatatva* presentation (a *Râjasika* manifestation); but the experience of first extension, on being completely subjectified by merger in the subject, psychically contracts in experience, and the two together are felt as the result of both extension and intension of experience, but separately may be said, to go to generate empirically the concepts of objective space and of objective time respectively. These two experiences of *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* are felt almost simultaneously with the experience of *Asmitâ* as self. Accordingly *Tattva* is defined as follows :—

(5) "*Tatatvât santatatvâchcha tattvânīti tato viduḥ*
Tatatvang deshato vyâptih santatatvancha kâlataḥ."

That is, *Tatatva* means apprehension of a limited extension or spatial diffusion (as opposed to all-pervasion) in Experience, which is being defined by the first experience of locomotion by the point-like Self, and is felt as an objective presentation; whereas *Santatatva* is the experience of a subjective presentation aspect of that objective presentation, whereby the *Asmtiâ* consciousness as Self appears as occupying that objective presentation of diffusion, as constituting a continuity of consecutive presences of Self (since experience is always a continuum) in

a succession of repeated endings and beginnings of the presences of Self, arising out of the psychically motional experience of rest in motion. This is just like the conception of a line being composed of a complexity of contiguous placings of points showing a continuity. The meaning of the above *Shloka* is that, a *Tattva* (a manifestation of *Sattva Guṇa*) is so called because there are both *Tatatva* and *Santatatva* experiences present in it simultaneously (space-time experience). This of course happens when the subjective presentation aspect merges in the subject or the *Vitti* or *Shakti* becomes conserved. Here we may profitably quote Mr. Turner, who says—that "the synthesizing activity in any given combination springs from the character of all its factors."[1] Again *Tatatva* has its pervasion in space, *i.e.*, it induces the idea of space, and *Santatatva* has its pervasion of experience in succession of time. Thus these two experiences ultimately and independently develop into feelings that cause experiences of empirical space and empirical time respectively. Because the latter is due to the idea generated in the proper surveying of the continuity of *Tatatva* experience, as a succession or sequence of beginnings and endings of the different positions of Self or the subjectified and centralised Experience, in the course of its moving attitude, while tending towards the attainment of empirical experiences of the phenomenal world. But this continuity means successive points in space, which the Self occupies in a time-succession, during the course of its first locomotion. Hence a feeling or experience arises in Self, which ultimately ripens into the idea of past, present and future. This is technically called *Santatatva*.

Now the Self on the subjective side, owing to its psychic activity, is being constantly changed in the flux of Selfhood due to repeated presentations on the objective side; so that the result is the repeated reproduction of the subject in the form of "the self as qualified by a certain experience, feeling or activity,

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> "The subject or background is therefore practically never a *pure* subject but a subject identifying itself with various presentations, feelings or intentions in relation to the foreground, *i.e.*, the object or objects present to it." [1]

Again the *Santatatva* notion is apprehended purely as a subjective measure, so that any constancy in the experience thereof is ever denied due to its relativity with the repeated *Tatatva* conceptions, which are supposed to vary by every repeated reproduction of a new self by the subjectivation of an objective presentation to Self as qualified by the previous experience. Besides the Self itself is an aspect of active Reality. Accordingly Mr. Bertrand Russell says that—"The universal cosmic time which used to be taken for granted is thus no longer admissible. For each body (here self), there is a definite time-order for the events in its neighbourhood; this may be called the 'proper' time for that body." [2] Thus the idea of *Santatatva* must always be a relative term dependent for its significance on the presentation of *Tatatva* forming the genesis of the subjective apprehension of *Santatatva* in question by a given subjective centre. Further the *Santatatva* experience is the effect of the *Tatatva* motion coming back to its starting point upon describing a curve. So that properly speaking *Tatatva* is more the interval felt between events than a distance in space, in as much as the simultaneous conception of *Santatatva* brings on the notion of time in the feeling. Thus it becomes more or less a measurement of interval between events happening in space-time, *i.e.*, it is a four-dimensional experience or the conception of a *Tattva*. This is of course required to infer a physical fact as attached to the result of a process of purely psychical motion, to give it its mechanical

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BEPINBEHARI NEWGIE

ANCIENT INDIAN LIFE[1]

I

Attention of scholars was naturally drawn at first to what have been called the Sacred Books of the Hindus. But it must be admitted that as a result of their one-sided view an impression was created that the ancient Indians were more contemplative than practical, more emotional than rational, more given to the thoughts of the other world than to the interests of material life. That India was not inhabited by a race of ascetics, by Muni and Rishi only, living in the solitude of forests but by every conceivable variety of men actively engaged in various pursuits of life, and attained a state of material civilization as high as that of Europe before the birth of her modern science, has been abundantly proved by the study of some of the important sciences and arts of India. In political, economic, and social history ancient India stood unique, and when we think of the time the word, 'ancient' in India implies, her hoary antiquity, and the state of civilization with which the Rig-Veda begins the story, a question incessantly presses for an answer :—How has it been possible for her to retain her individuality as long as six thousand years? Aggressive aliens were not wanting to molest her peaceful and domestic occupations, attacks sometimes virulent and threatening her existence were not a rare phenomenon. Yet her ancient period is not exactly over ; India two thousand years old still lives in remote villages though in a precarious condition.

The question has exercised many minds, and the best and the most comprehensive answer I have so far found is summed up in one word, Dharma. Unfortunately the word has been wrongly rendered as religion and loosely employed by men who know better, and been a fruitful source of confusion of ideas landing us on observances of rituals and social customs on one hand, and highly speculative and metaphysical disquisitions on

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Attention of scholars was naturally drawn at first to what have been called the Sacred Books of the Hindus. But it must be admitted that as a result of their one-sided view an impression was created that the ancient Indians were more contemplative than practical, more emotional than rational, more given to the thoughts of the other world than to the interests of material life. That India was not inhabited by a race of ascetics, by Muni and Rishi only, living in the solitude of forests but by every conceivable variety of men actively engaged in various pursuits of life, and attained a state of material civilization as high as that of Europe before the birth of her modern science, has been abundantly proved by the study of some of the important sciences and arts of India. In political, economic, and social history ancient India stood unique, and when we think of the time the word, 'ancient' in India implies, her hoary antiquity, and the state of civilization with which the Rig-Veda begins the story, a question incessantly presses for an answer :—How has it been possible for her to retain her individuality as long as six thousand years? Aggressive aliens were not wanting to molest her peaceful and domestic occupations, attacks sometimes virulent and threatening her existence were not a rare phenomenon. Yet her ancient period is not exactly over ; India two thousand years old still lives in remote villages though in a precarious condition.

The question has exercised many minds, and the best and the most comprehensive answer I have so far found is summed up in one word, Dharma. Unfortunately the word has been wrongly rendered as religion and loosely employed by men who know better, and been a fruitful source of confusion of ideas landing us on observances of rituals and social customs on one hand, and highly speculative and metaphysical disquisitions on

the other. Yet we know whatever shades of meaning a word may have it seldom loses its central idea. I remember how a Census Enumerator was once at his wit's end to elicit from an unlettered Hindu answer to the question, "What is your Dharma?" The poor man looked this way and that and when repeatedly asked said in reply, "My dharma is my dharma." The answer was perfectly correct. For every individual has a dharma of his own on account of which he is what he is. The root meaning of the word is that which sustains. Thus the dharma of fire is to burn, and it is not fire if it does not burn. Hence when we are told that success attends dharma (*yato dharmastato jayaḥ*), or that the result of dharma is too subtle to be analysed (*dharmasya sūkshmā gatiḥ*) or that the cause of the uninterrupted existence of the Hindu civilization is its dharma, we are not much enlightened by the answer. That which sustains a man in this world and the next, as *Vaiśeshika darśana* puts it, that which is conducive to his well-being is dharma. In the Gītā, Śrīkrishṇa enunciated the principle of the survival of the fittest when he asked Arjuna to do what he was fit for. For it is less risky both to himself and his society than the assumption of duties for which he was not fit. It is, however, not mere birth or heredity but the advantages possessed by an individual in training, association and tradition and in external conditions, in fact his whole equipment provided both by nature as well as by nurture, that operates in giving him that character which leads to his survival in the battle of life. Hence an attempt to relinquish or repress one's dharma or *svadharma* is bound to breed distemper appearing in various forms of indifferentism and unhappiness as was about to be the case with Arjuna. But it is clear that dharma cannot but be a mode of life. Manu, therefore, defines dharma as 'āchāra,' the Mahābhārata makes it 'sadāchāra,'[1]—that is, 'right living, right conduct, right according to a certain standard.' Dharma is a means to an end, not the end in itself. Hence the standard has varied according to the person who follows it, and to the circumstances in which he is placed. Undoubtedly, dharma is eternal (*sanātana*); for every living being is constantly adjusting itself to its environment. When it is said that the dharma of the Hindus has the power of assimilating foreign elements the statement which we know to be true repeats the natural law of existence.

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[1] Adharchandra Mukherji Lecture.

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[1] See *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (III.11) for a concise account of *Sadāchāra*.

But what is right adjustment ? The thinkers of old did not leave the answer to be determined by one and each or by chance. They tried to formulate it in the form of Do's and Don't's in books called Dharma-śāstra. A Śāstra is a compendium of rules for practical guidance. For example, Gaṇita śāstra gives us rules of arithmetic, Vyākaraṇa śāstra, those of grammar. A śāstra is authoritative, its authority being derived from the fact of its having been compiled by an expert on the subject. Jt does not therefore give reasons. Unfortunately we are so far removed from the circumstances when the rules were compiled that it has become difficult for us to understand their genesis. The commentators whocam e later were in no better position, and having been brought up in an atmosphere different from the present have left untouched many points which puzzle us and possibly misconstrued many others. The existence of a large number of Dharmaśāstras,—Sūtras and saṁhitās, and also of Nibandhas or Bye-Laws points to oue—conclusion that they were the products of various times and various places and were not considered immutable.

These rules relate to man as an individual and as a member of a society. It is difficult to keep the two aspects separate. For whatever is beneficial to him as a man is beneficial to his society also, and *vice versâ*. Indeed, it has been stated in numerous passages in the Mahābhārata that the criterion of dharma is the good of society for which even an untruth may e uttered to save a human life.

Dharma being relative, Hindu Society has been a highly complex organisation, being composed of societies within societies. The origin of this division into orders and suborders has been a knotty question with historians. But since it is impossible to speak of Indian life without touching on the social aspect it is necessary to have at least a working hypothesis. The first question we should ask ourselves is, Was the classification natural or artificial? That is to say, did the Brāhmans classify the population into groups? It has been supposed that groups were at first functional, and these became in a later period lineal. There is, however, some difficulty in accepting this theory. In the first place, it does not explain the cause of the functional differentiation, especially in a community admittedly small like the first Aryan settlers in the Punjab. In the second place, the change from one to the other requires very long time, indeed enormous time. Are the Vedic scholars prepared to admit a very long period for the Rig-Veda alone? For they tell us that in the last book of the Rig-Veda in the famous hymn, Purusha sūkta, the Aryans are described as having been already divided into three classes and these together with the slaves formed the four classes, having distinct social status and occupation exactly similar to what we find in the next Veda, the Yajur Veda. We have recently learned to look upon a society as an organism. It is astonishing to find the same idea actually embodied in the hymn. Whether we consider the hymn as an interpolation or not the question remains unsolved. We are thus forced to admit that there existed among the Rig-Vedic Aryans some elements, some germs, which developed into classes. They were not unaware of the existence of classes, for instance, the panchajanāh. The society was therefore not homogeneous. In the third place, were the artisans of the Rig-Veda, Aryans,—the carpenter, the blacksmith, the goldsmith, the potter, the tanner, etc.? If so, where are their descendants now, and why were they not regarded as Aryans in later literature? I do not think there are now any artisan castes who claim descent from a Rishi.

All these difficulties disappear if we suppose that the Aryans when they came to India belonged to three races. The three had some common features. They were tall and fair and spoke the same language but differed in temperament, tradition and occupation. One had white skin, another reddish and the third yellowish. The natives of the land also belonged to different races, each with its racial characteristics but agreed in the black colour of the skin, in their features and habits. There were thus men of four colours in the Aryan settlement. The Mahābhārata (*Śāntiparva, Chap. 188*) has an interesting discussion on the origin of the four colours of the skin. It is expressly stated there that the Brāhmaṇas were created white, the Kshatriyas red, the Vaiśyas yellow, and the Śūdras black. But this explanation did not satisfy the querist who had noticed exceptions to the rule. He was next told that at the time of creation all men had white skin, but the difference in their occupation due to the difference in the bent of their mind gave rise to the distinctive colours of the skin. Apparently this explanation also failed to satisfy him. For exposure to the sun, for instance, as in agricultural practice, would make white skin look sun-burnt, but not yellow, and no occupation of the Śūdras could change white into black. Besides, modern science is rather against the transmission of acquired characters. The next attempt was to call in aid the theory of the *guṇas* 'sattva,' 'rajas' and 'tamas.' But grand though it is, and perhaps the most comprehensive theory ever conceived, it begs the question and does not in the least help us. Suśruta tried to explain the difference in the skin colour of parents and their progeny, and thought that it depended on food eaten by the mother during pregnancy. In other words, the green colouring matter of plants somehow or other gets deposited in the skin of the fœtus. The ancients could not believe that any intermixture of blood had been possible, and modern science would have been equally at sea to explain the appearance of black among white before the Mendelian law was established. It is, however, clear that the word Varṇa originally implied colour, and since the four classes possessed distinctive colours of their skin they became naturally known by the names of their original colours. In later literature the names of the classes became synonymous with four colours, the primary colours according to the Hindu conception. The astonishing fact is that the original colour distinction was practically maintained throughout the long ages, and it is still more astonishing to note that even the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas acquiesced in the observance of the inequalities and great disabilities consequent on the difference of colour in every affair of life from birth to death. Had they all belonged to one race of one colour it would not have been possible to divide them into distinct classes by developing inferiority complex in some by unconscious training. The distinction was there in the original races, and no one classified the population according to their inherent qualities and occupations and dictated the duties of each class. It is possible to divide men into functional groups, but not into transcendental groups the basis of which is not obvious. The division was thus natural or God's creation, as the Gītā affirms. There were *guṇas* or characteristics both of the body and mind, and there is no reason why one should take the latter only.

But circumstanced as the Aryans were they had to combine themselves for safety against the natives of the land. Blending of the Aryan races continued, and though the slaves were kept at a distance the inevitable happened, and there was admixture of non-Aryan blood too. When the mixing of the non-Aryan blood had gone on for some time and a large number of the Aryan population could not be distinguished by their skin colour, the moralists got alarmed at the crossing, and strict marriage rules came into force. This happened long after the Vedic period. But race memory is more tenacious than transmission of physical features ; and the inherent characters of the races, and even race-jealousy as between Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, continued to assert themselves. There was, however, inter-class marriage which, though restricted, partially removed the difficulty in the way of change of family or traditional occupation. But there is no ground for believing that this was the normal condition. The few instances of parents and sons following different occupations in the Rig-Vedic period were exceptions to the general rule as there were in every period, and hence thought worthy of being quoted. Barring these occasional changes the skin colours kept up the race memory. There was nothing to prevent or destroy the hereditary character of the occupations, and the four classes became divided into sub-classes as an easy extension of the original division.

There was the idea of corporate existence inseparable in every division as a means of self-preservation, which is present in all tribes and weak minorities, instinctive even in weak animals and plants as manifest in their living in associations. The idea was there in the structure of the Aryan and Aryanized population, and the subdivision of the classes into sub-classes, genera and species, each with its characters depending on habit, function and geographical distribution was nothing new to it. Entrance to the Hindu fold was thus extremely easy, since Hinduism though conscious of unity in diversity did not accept the doctrine of imaginary equality, but fully recognised 'Kuladharma,' the dharma of each family, 'Jātidharma,' that of each caste, 'Deśadharma,' that of each country, and even 'Kāladharma,' that due to change of circumstances. Add to these, 'Āśramadharma,' the duties of each of the four orders of Brāhmaṇas in the four periods of their life. Indeed if we express 'dharma' by the word religion, Hindu dharma may be described as natural religion. Its doors are open to all-comers, irrespective of their origin, beliefs, traditions, occupations, provided they accept the scheme of society and do not disturb the existing members.

But every considerable contact with a foreign element, every attempt at its absorption was followed by a modification of old features and appearance of new. Customs and superstitious beliefs of Non-Aryans and of people living beyond India became engrafted on the mass mind. Astrology and divination and beliefs in innumerable supernatural agencies were found easier guides to destiny than exertion, individual or corporate. But the story need not be pursued further. We have seen that the fact of India's continued existence can be explained only in terms of her dharma, the peculiar structure of her society, which may be compared with a colony of polypes associating together but leading independent life. It was composed of semi-independent republics held together by a common ideal.

Though high in spiritual and intellectual culture, Brāhmaṇas never formed the predominating element of the Hindu population; for apart from other considerations their calling as priests could not maintain a large population, and economic conditions compelled many of them to adopt the profession of Vaiśyas and Kshatriyas. Probably disparity of age of married couples tended towards birth control ; and their prayer for many sons together with the social rule tending towards rapid propagation was a logical sequence of the low rate of growth of their population. Many could not get girls to marry, and were obliged to receive them as gifts or to seek them in the lower classes. Kshatriyas too must have found difficulty in maintaining themselves by the profession of arms only. They did not exercise self-control, and most of their unhappy children further swelled the rank of the Vaiśyas. Then again, the tendency of the śūdra class was to get itself elevated to the Vaiśya by the adoption of their independent means of livelihood. We can thus confidently say that the mass of the population in the Vedic period and after was Vaiśya by profession, if not also by descent. Hence it becomes clear why the word Vārtā which signifies 'staying,' 'livelihood,' was restricted to cattle-rearing, agriculture, commerce and banking. We need not therefore be told that the word 'viś' meant 'the people.'

They lived in villages as they do now. But how they lived ; what they ate and drank ; how they dressed and built their houses; how they cultivated land and obtained the necessaries of life; and lastly how they maintained the balance between worldliness and unworldliness;—these are some of the questions before us.

The task of answering them is arduous, partly because materials for many are scanty, and partly because the scope of these lectures does not permit full treatment. In the limitations I can only survey some of the salient features of ancient Indian life. It will be seen that it was simple but not primitive.

Town life was certainly more artificial and full of vanities than village life. A fair idea may be gathered from Sanskrit dramas and references in the epics and the Jātaka stories of Buddha. A vivid picture of the pleasures and vices of town-life is presented in Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra,* a śāstra on worldly prosperity of States. Judged by our present standard it cannot be gainsaid that sex-morality was not high, that vices were regulated by the State and were a source of its revenue and that drinking and gambling habits bewailed in the Rig-Veda were not confined to the lower classes only. We must not, however, be too severe in our estimate. For, average man is after all an animal, and if we are to believe the evidence of Sir Robert Wallace, civilised man has not advanced an inch either in intellect or morality beyond his primitive ancestors. The instinct of self-preservation and self-perpetuation with its attendant combativeness has continued to play its role, and however much he may repress the unconscious wish, it appears in forms, often polished and therefore more dangerous, and oftener as defence. There was then no need for the modern cant of art for art's sake, for the justification of the ever-flowing society stories and a host of other devices suggestive of the baser impulses of nature. The thinkers of old took due notice of these, and classified the objects of life under four heads, 'dharma,' 'artha,' 'kāma' and 'moksha.' They wrote śāstras on how to live well, how to acquire wealth, how to enjoy life and how to attain salvation.

Not to speak of the last head which was left to the aged and infirm they enjoined moderation and self-control in all the other three as the best way of realising them.. It is refreshing to note that the same spirit breathes through the subject of enjoyment of pleasures and that an inner vein of admonition, gentle and quiet, runs beneath the surface.

The first question of our animal existence is, however, the question of food. Nature provides us with food and what it may be depends upon her. The Rig-Vedic Aryans had barley and also rice as chief cereals, 'mudga' and 'māsha' as chief pulses, sesamum as oilseed, honey as sweet, meat of various animals, domesticated and wild, and abundance of milk and *ghi*. Probably rice was not at first cultivated to any large extent. For if the Western Punjab was the land of the first settlement of the Aryans, its climate was not suitable for extensive cultivation without artificial irrigation. We could have guessed their food from the articles required in our ceremonies which are often replicas of ancient practice. It is remarkable that the word 'godhūma,' wheat, does not occur in the Rig-Veda though its cultivation was prehistoric. It occurs for the first time in the Yajur-Veda. Probably it was introduced from another country which is supposed to have been Persia. That it was not indigenous in the Punjab appears from the fact that it is never used in any of our ceremonies. It was, however, a remarkable coincidence that from dietetic point of view barley powder is the best of the three cereals, and husked 'tila' or sesamum closely approaches the kernel of Pistachio in proximate composition. The Aryans used to eat 'Krisara' composed of barley and 'tila' which was afterwards made of rice and 'tila' and from which we have the word 'Khichari,' though of rice, pulse and *ghi*. Taking all the articles of food together it appears that the diet of the Rig-Vedic Aryans was all that could be desired for vigorous and robust health.

But the balancing of diet is not always a matter of chance. Certain necessary articles may not be easily available in a country and intelligent effort becomes necessary to supply the deficiency. For example, let us examine the diet of the Bengalis. As Bengal is by nature a rice-producing country, and not wheat-producing, the Bengalis had no choice left in the matter. But there is no reason for condemning rice as staple food, if its deficiencies in food value are supplied. Charaka, acknowledged as the earliest and highest authority, lived in the Punjab. He tells us that we may have in our daily diet rice, 'mudga' soup, rock salt, 'āmalakī' (*Embelic myrobolan*), rain water, milk and ghi, meat of game animals and honey. All varieties of rice are not of equal dietetic value ; but experience has given preference to some of the fine varieties of winter rice. Their protein and phosphatic contents are generally greater than those of coarse rice. But rice is not eaten alone. Ghi supplies the deficiencies of fat, accessories of soup, fish, and meat those of protein and salt. At the same time this diet is most easily digested and by far the greater part assimilated. Though this result is probably accidental, it is no small praise to the country which has adopted it. On the other hand, it should be noted that rice eaten without the accessories in due quantities as is done by the majority of Bengalis at present is one of the chief causes of the slender build of their body.

The Aryans of old were fond of meat, and there was no fish-sacrifice. The Mahābhārata (*Udyoga parva*) observes that meat is the chief food of the rich, milk that of the middle class and vegetables that of the poor. In Kauṭilya, too, we find that meat formed one of the items of daily diet of the people. Charaka was not enthusiastic over fish except the 'Rohita' fish (*Labeo-rohita*), which according to him, is a tonic, easily digestible and productive of great strength. He was against fish eating every day. Manu, however, permitted the use of scale-bearing fish.

The ancients were great eaters and those of us who are old will remember what a large quantity the people only two generations ago could eat without feeling discomfort. Indeed they enjoyed their meals (*bhojana*), while the English-educated of the present generation merely eat them (*bhakshaṇa*). Fortunately for them they got the necessary articles in their own homes or in their own villages, and had not to buy from unknown traders. There was thus no room for the frauds of those who adulterate food. For older times we may refer to Kauṭilya. He gives the following ration for a meal of an Ārya (gentleman), including of course the Brāhmaṇas : rice, clean and entire, 5½ chhaṭāks (1 *prastha*), dāli, one-fourth of rice, and *ghi* or oil one-sixteenth. For non-gentlemen (servants) the same quantity of rice, but dāli is reduced to one-sixth, and oil to one thirty-second part of rice. For women the above rations less by one-fourth. But these were not all. There were meat and dried fish and vegetables in the ration. The quantity allowed per head is not clearly stated. From context it appears that meat weighed 10 chhaṭāks. It is interesting to note the ingredients considered necessary to cook meat. For a seer of 80 tolas of meat about half a seer of 'dadhi,' salt and sugar 4 tolas each, oil about 12 tolas, and spices and condiments about a tola. Capsicum or red pepper was not known, even down to the 18th century, and the people had to be content with long pepper (*pippali*), black pepper (*maricha*) and ginger. It appears that meat used to be cooked more simply than it is done now. Among the vegetables again gourd (*Cucurbita maxima*) and potato were of course as unknown as capsicum. There were slaughter-houses under the superintendence of king's officers, and capture or shooting of certain animals and slaughter of cattle such as calves, bulls, and cows were prohibited. This was the law of the land in the fourth century B.C. But there were oxen which were reared and slaughtered for beef. When Charaka wrote his book beef appears to have been in constant use. For he does not approve of frequently eating ham and beef, fish, 'dadhi,' 'māsha' pulse, and 'chhenā,' whether prepared from milk or 'dadhi.' He considered beef as the worst of all kinds of flesh. The Dharmaśāstras tabooed beef but not ham.

Much has been said of late of the virtues of 'dadhi,' which to us is as old as the Rig-Veda. It is, however, neither sour milk, nor curdled milk, nor curd. It is 'dadhi,' and there is no word for it in English. Our old Ayurvedic writers appear to have studied its use carefully. For instance, Charaka tells us to avoid it at night, and not to drink it without mixing ghi, sugar, honey, or mudga soup with it. He does not advocate daily consumption nor in all seasons, and cautions us against its use in autumn, spring and summer. Further, he makes a distinction between 'dadhi,' and its preparation 'takra.' Suśruta who came later repeats the caution, extends their therapeutic uses, and distinguishes between sweet, acidulous, and sour 'dadhi,' and describes 'takra' which was prepared by adding water to the extent of one half the volume of 'dadhi,' churning the mixture and removing the butter. This he prescribed to a larger number of cases. Bhāvaprakāśa (16th cent. A.D.) went a step further, distinguished four qualities of each of 'dadhi' and 'takra.' His 'takra' is prepared by adding a quarter of water to 'dadhi.' He writes :—"One who drinks 'takra' has not to suffer pain and to be afflicted with disease. Learned men have declared that as 'amrita,' nectar, is beneficial to the immortals so is 'takra' to the mortals." But he restricts the consumption of this elixir of life to winter only, while we would like to have the refreshing drink in hot summer. Why then was this rule against our natural desire ? One reason is well-known to our housewives, and that is the difficulty of preparing sweet dadhi in summer on account of heat. But it is a part answer. The real answer lies in the fact that it is easy to prepare "pure" *dadhi* in our usual atmospheric conditions in winter only. In summer the Bulgarian bacillus which is said to be responsible for the beneficial and rejuvenating effect of *dadhi* is often excluded by the abundant growth of other bacteria.

This example will shew that though the ancients possessed no microscopes and modern chemical laboratories, they had the advantage of studying the effects for ages. The power of analysis displayed by them in the classification and description of properties of all kinds of eatables obtainable at the time is a mârvel to us. As in other matters so in diet, they refused to admit uniformity in nature and instead of prescribing model diet with the weight of each food gave general rules and laid stress on the consideration of age, habit, appetite, digestive power, amount of exercise taken, country, season, mode of cooking, and lastly combination with other foods. The effect of combination, beneficial or harmful, is more or less known to us all. Our mothers will not allow their children to eat fish with milk, or salt with milk. They are incompatible combinations, and scientific reasons do not support them. On the other hand, was it nature or careful observation which is at the bottom of our treating the various dishes as 'vyanjana' or accessories to the principal food, 'anna'? We have no separate courses of soups and curries, but eat them with rice or *roti*. The principle of distribution or minute subdivision is well illustrated in the preparation of ' havishyānna' which must have meant at one time the result of cooking a mixture of rice and *ghi* together. Our medical men took particular care to study the state, ' bhāva,' in which a food is offered to the stomach, and we know it can detect the difference between rice served warm or cold, rice cooked slowly or rapidly.

As to drinking water there is hardly anything which has been left unsaid in our medical works. Manu forbids throwing excreta, blood, and poison into water, and washing clothes containing them. The common people, however, would not understand the reason and were therefore told in the Purāṇas that water was the same in which Vishṇu dwelt, exactly as Brahma in 'anna' or food. And truly was the human body described as the tabernacle of God, and who could dare defile it ? Probably only the educated understood the spirit of the śāstras and followed it, while the rest would drink the muddy water of a river in the rains and wash their bodies and clothes in dirty pools as they do now, because current water is the best and because the body and clothing must be kept clean. This ignorance of hygienic rules has been the chief cause of much of the deplorable condition of the health of the country. The rules contained in the Ayurveda, the daily, the nightly routine, and the seasonal change therein are described in fullness scarcely to be found elsewhere, and may be usefully compiled in a text-book for the benefit of our boys and girls. According to Suśruta, "a healthy man is one whose three principles (*Vāyu, Pitta and Kapha*), tissues, digestive functions and excretions are normal, who is able to undergo physical labour in proportion to his body, and whose soul, mind and organs of sense and action are in proper functional order." It is of course not implied that all the people enjoyed this health. But there are reasons to believe that there has been physical deterioration even within the last two generations, and that there was a less number of defectives than we have at present. The average duration of life was longer than now. This is confirmed by the fact that from the Rig-Veda onwards there was the prayer for a life of hundred years. The maximum attainable age was sometimes put down as 108, and even 120 years, and a man was not considered old until he had passed the age of over 75 years. The object of the Ayurveda, as the name implies, was not merely the curing of diseases but the prolongation of life too. These two are not the same, and our common expression of benediction is "May you live a hundred years."

The drinking habit of the ancients has been noticed by many writers, and Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra's '*Indo-Aryans*' has a chapter on this. There are, however, two facts which have not been sufficiently emphasized. Both Kauṭilya and Śukra prohibited drinking during the day. The former restricted the quantity allowed to each consumer by law, who was required to take licence for drinking, while the latter removed the grog-shops to outskirts of towns. Excepting kings who had their own drinking room in their houses, and also high State officials and other well-known persons who observed purity, all, including Āryas, had to go to the wineshops and drinking saloons for indulgence. These rules must have deterred many from the temptation. Brāhmaṇas drinking liquor were severely punished by Kauṭilya. They were branded on the forehead and either expelled from the country or reduced to slavery in mines.

The Rig-Vedic Aryans had 'Surā,' probably beer made from barley. But they were more fond of the juice of Soma plant which they offered to their gods. But it is remarkable that the plant became unknown in later times. There is a story in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* that once on a time fire was lost, but was recovered after considerable search. The story depicts the state of the society when the art of producing fire by friction of wood was not generally known. But the method of preparing the Soma drink was fully described in the Vedic literature, and did not require the assistance of an expert. Soma seems to have become unknown with the disappearance of the Vedic sacrifices long after the time of the Dharmaśāstras. By the time 'Surā' and various other alcoholic beverages had become readily available to the public who did not care for the plant.

But thanks to the high ideals of the Dharmaśāstras, the drinking of 'Surā' which came to be distilled, was regarded as one of the greatest sins a Brāhmaṇa might commit, and the habit of drinking was confined to the lower classes only, many of whom have put a ban on it in recent times. Manu and others have mentioned 'Kiṇva' as the ferment used in preparing 'Paishṭika Surā,' Surā from cakes of rice. The ferment was the same as 'bākhar' or balls of rice and various vegetable ingredients containing *Mucor* plant and sold in markets. Probably it was the ferment of the Vedic Aryans also, and the method of preparing 'Surā' was the same as that of the present day, now confined to the aboriginal tribes.

The dress of the ancients was simple and practically the same as we have now. Vedic scholars tell us that the "Aryans often wore three garments, an undergarment (*nīvi*), a garment (*vāsas* in the narrower sense) and an overgarment (*adhivāsa*) which was presumably a mantle. A similar garment used to be worn by women.'' The garments were made of wool, but perhaps a large number of the population covered their bodies with cured skins. Both these materials require some cord to keep them in their places round the waist. Hence arose the necessity of a belt, 'mekhalā,' which in Rig-Vedic times consisted of a triple-plaited strap made of 'munja' grass. Manu also refers to it for the use of Brāhmaṇa students. The same 'mekhalā' became a gold or silver ornament for the waist when softer 'vastra' like silk or cotton, came into use. This is now confined to women, but long continued to be worn by men also, and a 'kaṭisūtra' or a triple-plaited thread is still considered as indispensable as 'vastra' by men and women, young and old. In later times the word 'nīvi' came to denote the knot of the wearing garment of women, and its place was taken by 'antarīya,' an underwear, and the word 'adhivāsa' replaced by 'uttarīya' or 'āvaraṇa' as mantle from which we have the vernacular words, orṇā or uṛāṇi. The distinction between 'dhoti' and 'śāṭī' implying 'vastra' for men and women respectively is of very recent origin. In ancient times women wore a bodice (*chola, kanchuka*) also and men a turban (*ushṇīsha*), as they do now. A pair of cloth (*udgamanīya*) consisting of a 'vastra' and an 'uttarīya' was considered absolutely necessary before one could come out of his house.

Thus loose dress, uncut and unsewn, has been our national dress since time immemorial, and it is the right dress in a hot country where ventilation of the body is as much necessary as that of dwelling houses. In winter, two or three folds leaving air spaces between prove better non-conductor of heat than tight dress. It would seem that a tight dress would have been out of harmony, and perhaps looked ugly.

What was the national colour of the dress? I should say it was yellow. For, in the first place, wool was the material of the woven cloth of the Vedic Aryans, and this when washed with lye assumes yellow colour. Un-dyed silk also becomes yellow on repeated washing. Therefore the traditional and ceremonial colour is yellow, and turmeric is the dye, *rajanī*. In the second place, the general Aryan population, the Vaiśya had yellowish complexion, and it was almost a rule in later times that they should wear a dress of the same colour just as Brāhmaṇas white, Kshatriyas red, and Śūdras black or blue. At any rate it was a sin for a Brāhmaṇa to put on cloth dyed blue or black. It was inauspicious for a Brāhmaṇa to have a blue sapphire or a red ruby on his person. In fact the colours of the gems were expressed by the names of the four classes, 'varṇa.' For instance, a diamond of Brāhmaṇa Varṇa meant a white or colourless diamond. In the third place, it so happens that of the dye-stuffs available in India, turmeric is the most common and easy to use. It is a substantive colour for cottons, and does not require mordanting. At the same time it is fast to washing with water though not permanent to the sun. On all festive occasions yellow dress is compulsory. In the fourth place, as the majority of the Indians have a dark shade to which yellow is complementary, a dress of this colour adds beauty to the person. And, if I may add a fifth reason, yellow colour is scientifically the best protection against the dangerous actinic rays of the sun, and therefore at least the head-dress and umbrella should be of yellow colour. Our brethren of the desert country, Mārwar, have shown wisdom by adopting this colour in their turban.

There are detailed instructions in the Dharmaśāstras and also in some Purāṇas regarding the washing of clothes with detergents suitable to each stuff. Manu enjoins that "a washerman shall wash the clothes of his employer gently on a smooth board of śālmalī (Bombax). He shall not allow any one but the owner to wear them." Similarly, he forbids the wearing of garments and ornaments worn by another. Kauṭilya prescribed fines if a washerman did not use smooth board or stone slab, and if he sold, let out to hire or changed the clothes of his employer.

Indeed the Brāhmaṇas appear to have been the cleanest people on the face of the earth, and if they were clean not only in body but also in mind, they would naturally feel repugnance to associate with people who were otherwise. There were certainly many who were called Brāhmaṇas by courtesy, because of their birth in a Brāhmaṇa family but were devoid of the qualification of a true Brāhmaṇa. And they were not spared the censure which they deserved. But those were exactly the persons who would be fastidious, for fastidiousness and fanaticism go together and manifest themselves when there is inherent weakness, the unconscious fear of being converted into the state which one would consciously keep at a distance. The class of unselfish, high and pure-minded thinkers of old, the spiritual guides, the educators and yet beggars, who have raised the Hindus to a level of spirituality of which any nation might be proud, naturally occupied the highest position by virtue of their undoubted superiority, before whom tyrants would quail and crowned heads throw themselves at their feet with reverence. It is no wonder that their ideas of cleanliness and actual practice became the standards for other classes as far as their professions permitted. It is, therefore, difficult to believe that they framed rules with a view to their aggrandisement, or to proclaim the vanity, of superiority by refusing food cooked by Śūdras. Let us for a moment forget the present conditions, and try to find out a rational basis for excluding them. The Śūdras, if we are to believe the statements of Brāhmaṇas, were unclean both in body and mind, and food cooked by them, or water, milk and its preparations offered in their pots were naturally repugnant to any clean man from hygienic point of view. But Manu had no objection to the food prepared by his domestic servants, men employed for his agriculture and tending his cattle, his barber, the well-wisher of his family, and those who had placed themselves at his mercy. Here then is a distinction which points out the object clearly. These men living in or associating with the Brāhmaṇa family were obliged to be clean. It must be remembered that there were no Brāhmaṇa cooks at that time, and cooking when necessary was done by Śūdras. Now an examination of the list of persons who were considered unclean will shew that there was good reason for excluding them. The names 'Kumbhakāra,' 'Karmakāra,' 'Taiti,' etc., signify, merely, their occupation and do not indicate their habits. There was a class named 'Antyaja,' the lowest class, lower than the Śūdra. The persons belonging to this class were most unclean, and therefore untouchable. Apart from this consideration it is possible to trace a rational basis for the exclusion. The persons whose food was refused may be classified as follows: (1) Those whose calling made adherence of foreign matter to their persons possible, *e. g.*, potters, smiths, dyers, tanners, physicians, etc. (2) Those who were engaged in killing animals and preparing and selling liquors. (3) Those who were professional cooks, who were diseased or angry. The food prepared in hotels, that for feeding large multitudes or offered as alms was also objectionable. (4) Those who were immoral, *e. g.*, drunkards, impostors, hypocrites, out-castes, women of the town, etc.

It will be seen that in every case there was some justification. The ban on moral delinquents had no doubt beneficial effect on the society. Parāśara who came after Manu had no objection to eat the food cooked by a Śūdra on the bank of a river if it was not served in his plates.

The Antyaja class was untouchable. But the higher classes might at times be untouchable, and the same hygienic considerations led to the institution of 'aśaucha,' "unclean state." A woman during the period of her menstruation is untouchable and is practically compelled to sit idle. The rule is obviously based on consideration of her health. 'Aśaucha' also happens in case of birth or death in a family. In these cases it means compulsory segregation, periods of which would naturally vary with circumstances. In the case of birth, it was the young mother and the new-born babe who were the objects of concern, and outsiders even relatives were forbidden to approach them. In the case of death which might be due to some infectious disease, the health of the village community had to be rendered safe, and none were allowed to mix with any of the bereaved family. Barbers and washermen, the common carriers of infection, would not serve the family which was considered dead for the time being. The period of segregation cannot be the same for all cases of death. Death by accident or birth of a still-born baby does not entail segregation. In cases of death by disease the period cannot be the same for all classes, for instance, for a clean Brāhmaṇa and an unclean Śūdra family. But the minimum period is ten days, the period enjoined for the Brāhmaṇa, for whom a period of thirty days would be unnecessarily too long. And wisely did the ancient thinkers make the observance of 'aśaucha' compulsory as a part of dharma.

The same consideration of sanitation led the ancients to assign outskirts of villages for the habitation of those castes whose occupations were unclean. Sanitation is intimately connected with 'vāstu vidyā,' the selection of site, construction and disposition of houses, presence or absence of trees and of water close to them, effective drainage and a variety of other conditions. These appear to have been closely studied, and a large number of books were written on them. The word 'vāstu' denotes building site, and 'vāstu vidyā' comprehends the construction of all things which go to make a house habitable. It is also called 'Śilpa śāstra,' which according to Śukrāchārya deals with the construction of temples, images, parks, houses, wells and works of public utility. But the actual work is a 'kalā,' an art. The building of a house is expensive and it is meant to last long and prove healthy and comfortable. Therefore the services of experts are always necessary. According to a treatise named *vāstu vidyā* and probably very old, no house can be constructed without the services of an architect (*sthapati*), an engineer (*sūtragrāhī*), carpenters (*takshaka*), builders (*bārdhakī*), and workers in clay for bricks and tiles (*mritkarmajña*). Our Sūtradharas of Bengal were the engineers, but have usurped the duties of architects and carpenters. An architect in ancient times was highly educated. It will be interesting to note the qualifications of each of the five. "The architect should be proficient in drawing, designing, mathematics and architecture ; accurate and careful in his work ; conversant with all śāstras, Tantras and Purāṇas ; acquainted with various countries ; born in a high family ; firm in friends and relations ; righteous ; truthful, kind-hearted, self-controlled ; liberal ; free from jealousy, intolerance and seven vices ; healthy and cheerful, and possessed of a pleasing countenance and name. The engineer should be either a son or pupil of the architect, possess nearly all his qualifications and follow his instructions. He should be well-grounded in the mensuration of surface, volume and mass, and trained in every branch of handicraft. The carpenter should be able to prepare the necessary woodwork according to specification. The duty of the builder should be to assemble the materials and build house according to the instructions of the architect. The clay worker should be well-qualified in his art, always obedient to the architect, devoted to his Guru and of cheerful disposition."

Architecturally, there were three classes of buildings,— 'prāsāda' or what we call temples, 'maṇḍapa' or halls open on all sides, the roof being supported on pillars or posts, and 'griha' in the narrower sense of ordinary houses or cottages. They were also classified according to the building material used. Thus according to Viśvakarmā those that are built of stone are 'mandira,' of burnt bricks 'bhavana,' of unburnt bricks 'sumana,' of mud 'sudhāra,' of timber 'mānasya,' of cane 'chandana,' of canvas 'vijaya' (tents), and of reeds 'kālama.' Of the eight classes of houses a 'bhavana' built of burnt brick was considered the best, and specifications for constructing one were usually given. A 'prāsāda' was altogether different in architecture, and its construction formed a separate branch of 'vāstu-vidyā.'

Let us suppose that a well-to-do Brāhmaṇa wishes to settle in a new place. Manu will tell him to avoid a place inhabited by bad characters or where the people suffer from any incurable disease. Bhojarāja (11th century) will tell him to avoid proximity to rivers, cremation ground, hills and forests, and places just beyond a fortified town. Varāha (6th century) will advise him to build his house away from the house of the King's ministers, and of cunning fellows, away from temples of gods, crossing of highways, large public trees on roadsides, ant hills, hollows and ridges. The Brahmaṇa should next examine the site. It should have slope either to the east or to the north, but never in the opposite directions. (The reason of this rule is not given, but obviously west and south winds were desired, and the drains of the house naturally following the slope would be nuisance if the inclinations of the ground were otherwise.) The site should not be barren of grass, or contain pieces of stone. It should contain plentiful supply of water underground. The soil should be pleasing, of white colour, of smell like *ghi*, and of sweet taste. The compactness of soil has now to be tested. A circular hole, a cubit in diameter and depth, is dug and next filled with its soil. Degree of density is judged from excess or defect of the soil dug out. Or, the hole is filled with water and after rapidly walking a hundred steps its level is noted. If there be troublesome weeds, it may be necessary to grow on the land 'tila' crop in order to destroy them. If the ground is found satisfactory, it has to be now levelled. For extensive grounds, the aid of a water-level is necessary. It is constructed by digging a square pit and fixing rods therein. The pit is filled with water, and level is taken from its surface. The next step is to determine the four directions. This is done by the usual method of astronomy, consisting in observing the shadow of a vertical stick.

These are excellent practical rules, but not given in the way in which they are stated above. The ancients thought it necessary to connect each alternative either with good or with evil consequence. The reason is that ordinary people are prone to question the wisdom of rules and to grudge trouble and expense in strictly following them which are meant for their good. *Vāstuvidyā* being a śāstra does not give reason ; for an expert's opinion can be questioned by an expert only, to whom reason would be self-evident. This is the attitude of all śāstras. Sometimes they depart from this universal practice, but when they do, they apologise and say that the explanation is meant for boys or the dull-headed.

We cannot, however, always justify them. For instance, when the Vāstu śāstra prescribes one set of rules as to situation, site, soil, size of houses, entrance door, etc., for Brahmaṇas, and other sets for each of the other classes, we cannot but think that colour prejudice was at their bottom. There were standard sizes of houses for kings, queens, princes, ministers, commanders of armies and other high officers according to the ideas of dignity of each. Similar classification prevailed in respect of houses of the five classes of the population, so that a glance at any of the features of a house would at once reveal the class of the owner. Apparently the majority observed the rules lest any evil befell them by their violations. There are few minds which are free from superstition of one kind or another ; and who do not associate new houses, new anything which lasts for sometime with experiences if they happen to be unhappy? This weakness of human mind opened the door to beliefs in astrological calculation and scrutiny of omens which occupied a part of Vāstu śāstra.

It will be tedious to enter into details. The Brahmaṇas had the option of five sizes of dwelling houses, the Kshatriyas four, the Vaiśyas three, the Śūdras two, and the Antyajas one, which was the smallest. There might be one, two, three, and four houses each with a verandah, and if possible with a path on all sides. If one, it was built on the south side; if two, the second occupied the west side; if three the third formed the north wing. The houses might be many-storied, but the total height usually equalled the breadth. The pillars and posts had definite sections in different parts. There were no arches, and openings had to be closed up by corbelling or by lintels of timber, occasionally of slabs of stone or iron. There were windows (*vātāyana*), but probably often latticed. The doors were never placed opposite to each other, but always opposite to walls. This disposition secured privacy and thorough movement of the air within and at the same time prevented direct draught,—surely advantages we ignore in our modern houses. The plinth was always high. It kept off snakes and worms, and also dust and heat of the ground to some extent, and enhanced the beauty and dignity of the house. Flat-terraced roofing was unknown, and the roofs were covered with thatch. Tiles (*kharpara, mritloshṭaka*) for thatch came into use probably much later than the old 'vāstu vidyā.'

As to the disposition of rooms, a Brāhmaṇa would have one for the family deity on the north-east, cookroom on the south-east, room for furniture and utensils on the south-west, and treasury and granary on the north-west side of the enclosed site. His sleeping room, if one, would be situated on the south side, and the main entrance into the house on the west. But this door would not be close to a highway, any tree, temple or pillar, soft mud or water course, well, etc. The best house used to have open land on all sides, and when expansion became necessary, houses were built either on the north or the east. The source of water, if well, would be on the north-east corner. These rules were of course framed with an eye to the meteorological conditions of a particular part of the country and would not be suitable for every place.

Bengal was not in favour of tiled roofs, though they were common both in Northern and Southern India. She delighted in curves which are impossible in tiled roofs, and developed a style of architecture of her own which she adopted in building temples also. She had a liking for rural scenery and combined beauty, utility and science in the construction of her houses. The aspects of the houses presented a romantic contrast to the surrounding scenery of open lands. Each of the four roofs of the straw thatch was curved both horizontally as well as vertically, affording strength to the frame-work and preventing rain water from standing anywhere. The ridge, the hip, the eaves were all curved, and money used to be lavishly spent on the decoration of the interior. There were no large windows, but there was ample ventilation within. The air volume of the rooms, the open passages along the top of the walls which were in most cases mud-built, the porous thatch and wall, all contributed and kept the air sweet. The thick thatch of straw with plenty of air spaces proved an efficient non-conductor of heat. There was of course the risk of catching fire. But it is interesting to note in the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva, ch. 69) that the people at least in Upper India used to do their cooking outside their houses in summer and cover the roof with a coat of clay. Kauṭilya made ample provisions against fire. The plinth was about 3 ft. high, and the floor made of clay required renovation almost daily. But since nothing but clay can repair and renew the floor, some opening and at the same time agglutinative material is necessary to make the coat of clay adhere to old surface. These two conditions are eminently satisfied by fresh cow-dung readily available in every house. The slight smell of ammonia soon passes off, and the surface of the floor looks neat and clean. A well-appointed house was a picture of beauty, and even the kitchen fire-place constructed by expert housewives was a combination of beauty with scientific economy. Everything was in its place, and there was nothing useless. It was a pleasure to enjoy the harmonious repose scarcely to be met with in modern palaces, stocked with superfluity of furniture. Yet a mud-built house lasted a hundred years.

Let me conclude this lecture with the description of a model house for fine gentlemen from Vātsāyana, perhaps of the same date as Kauṭilya. A gentleman will not, of course, like to live in a village where no clubs and theatres are to be found. He will naturally prefer a royal capital, or a town, or at least a large village where many gentlemen reside. He will select for his house a site near a river or a large tank of good water for his daily bath and swimming. Close to the river he will have a flower garden and beyond this his room, both for sleeping as well as sitting, and situated outside the inner quarters. All the houses will be brick-built and contain a number of rooms for various purposes. In the room for his own use will be seen a couch, curved a little downwards in the middle, covered with a clean and white bed-sheet, and provided with two pillows, one towards the head and the other towards the feet. There will be seen another couch slightly smaller than the preceding; towards the head side of the room, a mat of *kuśa* grass to sit on for contemplation of God before retiring to bed, a platform for scented pastes, pomade and powder, garlands of flowers, orange peel to chew, and betel case; and a spittoon on the floor; a *vīṇā* lute in its canvas case hung from a peg in the wall, placed on the bracket a book for reading, and garlands of orange flower of Barleria which do not fade quickly; and near a wall on the floor a carpet rolled up and dice with board. Outside the room will be seen cages of pet birds hung from pegs; in a secluded spot a place for carpentry and play; and in the flower garden under the shade of trees a swing and in a bower of blossoms a paved seat.

Śukrāchārya (about the 11th century) would have, however, added some pictures (*pratirūpaka*), mirrors (*ādarśa*), a clock (*kālaprabodhaka*) and a blow-fan (*vātapreraka*) to the furniture of the room, and a fountain (*jalordhapāti*) to the pleasure garden.

JOGESCHANDRA RAY

THE BENGAL MILITARY BANK

The plan of the Bengal Military Bank was first devised by the Commander-in-Chief and after securing the approval of the Governor-General in Council the Bengal Military Bank was started mainly for the purpose of enabling the Military Officers to remit their monthly savings and to assist the Regimental Savings Banks which were in existence in Bengal by that time and to help the formation of several more regimental Savings Banks by affording them proper means of investing their funds with security.

The Work of the Bank.

The Bengal Military Bank was authorised to receive deposits from 1st January, 1821, from all Military Officers, Commissioned or Non-Commissioned or Warrant, Officers or any other officers attached to the military service of the East India Company. The deposits (not less than ten sicca rupees) [1] could be made out of their pay or monthly allowances by sending an application to the Pay-Master authorising him to deduct the stated sum from their pay. The form of application was as follows :—

Deduct from this pay-bill and remit to the Military Bank as follows :—

		Rs.	a.	p.
For Captain	One Hundred Sicca Rs. ...	100	0	0
,, Lieutenant	Fifty Sicca Rs.... ...	50	0	0
,, Serjeant	Ten Sicca Rs.	10	0	0
	Total Sicca Rs. ...	160	0	0

Signature of the Captain.

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[1] The Sicca rupee has become the standard money in Bengal by this time. It must be remembered that there were other denominations of rupees current in Bengal and Lord Cornwallis made a great effort to standardise the 19 Sun Sicca Rupee as the unit of account in Bengal and by 1795 it was established as the standard Money of Bengal.—See the Selections from the Calcutta Gazette, which reproduces the Government notification on this subject ; Fort William, Public Department, Oct. 24, 1792. The intrinsic value of the different species of of rupees current in Bengal, Behar and Orissa compared with the Sicca rupee from assays made in Bengal is quoted in a tabular form in this notification.

The Pay-Master had to remit this sum to the Secretary of the Bengal Military Bank stationed in Calcutta by a bill of exchange on the Accountant-General drawn in favour of the Bank. A detailed statement (*i. e.*, a duplicate of the above form) was also to be sent to the Accountant-General and this Memorandum was to state in full the details, *viz.*, amount of deduction from the pay, Battalion Regiment, for the Month of—, year—, to be remitted to the Bengal Military Bank. In addition to this deduction from pay individual depositors could remit savings directly to the Secretary of the Bank.

Management of the Funds.

The General Military Bank in Calcutta was to lend these funds to the best advantage on the pledge or deposit of Government paper, Public Bank shares and other good securities so as to realise the highest rate of interest consistent with perfect safety.

Officers of the Bank.

Twelve Directors were to be in charge of its operations. The Government had the right to nominate three out of the twelve and the remaining were to be elected by the constituents of the Bank at the annual meeting to be held in the month of January. The *ex-officio* Government directors were : (A) The Adjutant-General of the Army ; (B) the Military Auditor-General ; (C) the Accountant, Military Department. The first batch of Directors for the year 1821 was nominated by the Government. The names were as follows :—

(1) Colonel J. Nicholls—C. B. Quarter-Master-General, His Majesty's Forces.
(2) Lieutenant-Colonel J. Paton—Quarter-Master-General of the Army.
(3) Major L. Wiggins—Assistant Military Auditor General.
(4) Major C. H. Campbell—Deputy Secretary to the Government, Military Department.

HOW BUDDHISM CAME TO CEYLON

On the night of the full moon, on the fifteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord nineteen-twenty-seven, more than two-hundred-thousand pilgrims wended their devious ways to the ancient city, Anuradhapura, to celebrate the advent of Buddhism to the beautiful Island of Ceylon.

Foot-sore and weary, bearing their infants, as well as their cooking utensils, food-stuffs and sleeping mats, but withal joyous and expectant, they walked and walked for days and days to reach the sacred Mihintale Hill, whereon is the shrine of the great teacher, Mahinda.

By the time the lotus-moon blossomed out in full on the deep, blue lake of the sky, the road from the city to the hill was lined with their camps, with their little fires where they cooked their rice and rested, ere beginning the sacred ascent.

Forty extra trains bearing thousands who were fortunate enough to travel by rail had arrived; all excited, worshipful, bearing gifts for the shrine as offerings to the princely Thera Mahinda, who had brought to them the blessed

> " Scripture of the Saviour of the world,
> Lord-Buddha, Prince Siddartha styled on earth—
> In Earth, and Heavens and Hells Incomparable,
> All-honoured, Wisest, Best, Most Pitiful;
> The Teacher of Nirvana and the Law."

In commemoration of this event the vast multitude celebrated the great Teacher's arrival in Ceylon, climbing with unwearied, reverent feet the wonderful stone stairway up to the shrine where rests the bones of the Thera, all bearing flowers and crying, " *Sadhu! Sadhu.*"

The coming of Buddhism to Ceylon was thuswise: The Star of Prince Gautama, known as the Sakyamuni, was in glorious ascendancy five centuries before the Star of Bethlehem arose. To India was the Buddha sent, and to the Sakyans, a warrior race, who dwelt "under the Southward snows of Himalay."

After he had attained enlightenment, and deliverance from desire, he went forth upon The Path as a teacher of the Holy Dharma, and established the Sangha.

Among those who eagerly embraced Buddhism was the powerful King Asoka and his adherents. Of the king's household were his noble son, Prince Mahinda and a lovely younger daughter, Sanghamitta, both of whom not only embraced the new religion, but they entered the temple to study for the priesthood. Mahinda had for twelve years been a monk and had attained to lofty wisdom, while his sister had become a Theri noted for her learning and piety.

The teachers of Mahinda urged him to go forth to convert the people of Lanka (Ceylon), to the true faith, as had been foretold by a great sage: Also the command of the god, Indra, came to him to "Set forth to convert Lanka."

A word as to Ceylon and the Singhalese at this period. As writes G. E. Mitton in his excellent book on "The Lost Cities of Ceylon,"—"Ceylon was a kingdom and the royal cities were centres of civilization and learning, though our national ancestry had not been evolved, and 'English,' 'Scottish,' and 'Irish,' much more 'American,' or "British' were unknown."

Hanging from the southernmost point of India, like an emerald set in brilliants, was the little island of Lanka, at that time, says Henry W. Cave, "the chief emporium of the Eastern world. The merchant fleets of India, China, Persia and Arabia entered its ports with silks, carpets, cloth of gold, sandal-wood, horses, chariots and slaves. There they met not only to barter with one another, but to traffic with the Singhalese, whose gems were coveted by the nobles and princes of every country."

The pearls, sapphires, and rubies, and many minor gems, to say nothing of the spices and other rare products, were sought after by the entire civilized world.

The aborigines of Ceylon, of whom little is known, were the Veddas, who dwelt in rock houses and caves, lived in jungles and forests, and were a poor, ignorant race. They were worshippers, in a primitive way, of demons, snakes, or nagas, also of the forces of Nature—probably groping in a vague way, after an Unknown God. They were hunters, and lived as barbarians. Of this early race there are few, if any, left, and they were referred to by later settlers, as Yakkhas, or wild men.

Gradually drifted in from North-Central India the Aryans and other castes, bringing with them the Hindoo and Brahminical religions. From those early invaders came the Singhalese. There is a tradition that a king of Lanka was the offspring of a lion, or *Sinha,* and from him came the national name of the race. This 'Sinha's' grandson, Wijaya, was the beginning of the real Singhalese kings, and it is recorded that he came over on a raiding expedition from India, on the very day of the death of the Great Buddha, which occurred about 483 B.C.

The adventures of this Wijaya are as varied and as interesting as are those of Ulysses, the hero of the Odyssey.

However, neither the dates of the birth nor death of Gautama, the Buddha, have been satisfactorily established by the scholars or archaeologists of the world. Like the Sufi philosopher and poet, they have held "Great argument about it and about, but evermore, came out by the same door wherein they went." What does it matter? Buddha belongs to the Timeless World; he came, he spread his noble teachings over a quarter of this globe, and has to-day more than four million followers.

King Asoka had done much to promulgate Buddhism throughout India, but it was his missionary son, Mahinda, who bore the light across to Ceylon. The story of his coming reads like a charming fairy-tale in the Mahavaṃsa, the wonderful old book of chronicles and legends, which were compiled and recorded by a priest of the royal house, in the fifth century A.D. This work of Mahanama's dates from 500 B.C., up to the time of the occupation of the English in the Island, in 1814.

It is therein recorded that when Mahinda received Great Indra's command to "Set forth to convert Lanka," he at once retired to his monastery for one month, and spent it in austerity and prayer. At the end of which time he and his six attending monks exerted their occult power, and arising in the air like a flock of birds, floated away, alighting on Sila-Peak, being the topmost point of the Mihintale mountain. This flight was accomplished on the day of the full moon in the month of Jettha (June-July).

Now this was in the reign of the wise and beloved king Tissa, who was on friendly terms with Asoka, the Indian king.

When Tissa had succeeded to the throne he came into great wealth and power, and had dispatched ambassadors to his friend's court bearing costly presents, in acknowledgment of which, Asoka sent many valuable gifts in return, with the following exhortation :—"I have taken refuge in Buddha, his religion, and his priesthood; I have avowed myself a devotee in the religion of the descendant of Sakya. Ruler of men, imbuing thy mind with the conviction of the truth of these supreme blessings, with unfeigned faith, do thou also take refuge in this salvation."

On this day King Tissa, attended by forty-thousand of his men set forth to enjoy the chase of the samburs (elks), that were so plentiful in the mountains. The guardian spirit, or Deva of the mountain, took the form of a great stag, and fleeing before the hunters led them up Mihintale in sight of Mahinda, then disappeared.

When the king beheld the Thera standing on the Sila-peak, he was terrified, thinking him a super-natural being. But Mahinda spoke,—"Come hither Tissa." Then thought the king, "This is a Yakkha!" meaning a wild-man or devil. Reading his thoughts Mahinda called forth his attendants from amid the rocks and replied, "Samanas are we, oh king, disciples of the King of Truth."

Tossing aside his bow and arrows, the king with his vast retinue drew near to Mahinda and his attendants, and graciously conversed with him. "Whence come these?" he asked, for the first time noting the other members of the mission.

"With me they came," replied Mahinda. "We are the ministers and disciples of the Lord of the true faith. In compassion for thee, Maharajah, we have repaired hither from Jambudipa."

The king then remembered the message from the great Asoka, and asked, "Are there in Jambudipa other ascetics like to these?"

Mahinda answered, "Jambudipa is gleaming with yellow robes; and great is the number of arahants learned in the three Vedas, gifted with miraculous powers, skilled in reading the thoughts of others, possessing the heavenly ear; the disciples of Buddha."

Then followed a discourse on the Buddhist doctrine, and as the Truth was expounded it laid hold of the heart of the king, and he and his following were then and there converted. Great was the rejoicing, and when Tissa learned that Mahinda was the son of his former friend, Asoka, he eagerly pressed him and his ministers to visit his capital, so that all might share in the wondrous teaching of the God-sent Thera.

In haste the hunting party returned to the city, the king saying that he, on the morrow, would send a wagon for his honoured guests. Preparations were at once set forward to welcome the missionaries in proper state.

The promised wagon was dispatched, but Mahinda doubtless thinking to impress the people, dismissed it; he with his priests arose in the air and floated swiftly to Anuradhapura, descending in the east of the city in the place where later the first Stupa was built, and it was called the *Pathamacetiya* (the first sanctuary).

The entire city went forth to greet with loud acclaim, the aerial visitors, and King Tissa ordered that the great elephant stables be cleansed and decorated with flowers, in which Mahinda could declare the good news to the multitude. But as the stables were adjudged too small for such a gathering, the king invited them to his beautiful pleasure garden, Nandana, and there amid the natural surroundings of trees and flowers, with the green grass to recline upon, and to the accompaniment of singing birds, Mahinda expounded to them the doctrine of the Eight-fold Path, and the bliss of Nirvana, as had been revealed to the Lord Buddha.

Queen Anita, with five hundred maidens and five hundred women of the royal harem accepted the ten precepts, and desired to have 'pabbajja' bestowed upon them. They bore rich gifts to Mahinda and his disciples, and the king offered to them the Nandana Gardens in which to dwell. But Mahinda thought it too near the city for proper meditation and study, so King Tissa generously donated to him and to the priesthood for ever, the south-western pleasure garden Mahamegha. With his own hands Tissa ploughed the boundary-lines with a golden plough drawn by two elephants richly caparisoned, and followed by a rejoicing procession of men and women bearing garlands, umbrellas, waving flags, carrying vases and baskets laden with fragrant flowers, and trays of sandal-dust, accompanied by musicians, shouting paeans of praise.

Under Mahinda's directions the site for thirty-two sacred edifices, baths and other buildings was marked off and subsequently erected.

This historic mountain rises abruptly from the plain to a height of one thousand feet ; it is eight miles east of the sacred part of the city of Anuradhapura, and there was constructed a wonderful rock stairway, leading by easy ascent to the top of the mountain, having one thousand and forty steps!

Of this relic of past splendour G. E. Mitton says,—"Mihintale is not seen until we are actually there. A flight of over a thousand stone steps leads up the Hill ; the first flight bursts upon the vision as a dream of heavenly beauty—a stairway leading to Heaven! Overhanging trees throw green shadows on the worn steps, and the shifting golden lights between may well be taken for angel visitants. For twenty centuries the bare feet of devout pilgrims have ascended and descended those steps, feeling awe, and seeing visions as surely as did Jacob—visions of mighty Buddha overshadowing the Island, and of Mahinda, his apostle, alighting on the topmost crag which towers up into the azure sky far overhead."

The Thuparama was the first shrine to be built within the enclosure, and King Tissa's next object was to procure some sacred relics to deposit therein. He took counsel with Mahinda, and his nephew Sumane, a wise and holy priest. It was well known that seven relics of the holy body of the Buddha had been rescued from the funeral pyre, and that King Asoka knew of their whereabouts. So after deliberation Tissa said, "Go friend Sumane, and when thou art come to fair Pupphapura, deliver to the mighty king, thy grandfather, this charge from us : "Thy friend, oh great king, and the friend of the gods, being converted to the doctrine of the Buddha, desires to build a thupa ; do thou give him a relic of the Sage, and the alms-bowl that the Master used ; for many relics of the Buddha's body are with thee."

Then answered Sumane, "So be it, Sir." And he departed at once, and reaching Pupphapura found his grandfather, King Dhammasoka, even as he stood honouring the sacred Bodhi-tree with offerings of the Kattika festival.

When he had delivered the king's message, and Mahinda's request, Asoka gave into Sumane's charge the precious Alms-bowl of the Buddha, and acting upon the advice of his grandfather, he went onward to the Himalaya, and sought out Sakka, Lord of the Devas, and made known his desire, saying, "The relic, the right-eye and tooth of the Buddha, worthy of the adoration of the three worlds, is with thee, O King of the Gods, and the relic of the right collar-bone. Honour thou the tooth ; the collar-bone of the Master do thou give away. Grow not weary of thy duty toward the Isle of Lanka, O Lord of the Gods."

Then Sakka took from the sacred shrine of the Devas, the right collar-bone of the Buddha, and gave it to Sumane, who returned rejoicing to the Citiya mountain and gave the two relics to his uncle, the Thera Mahinda.

The city had been adorned for the reception of the holy relics, and the king rode forth to the Mahamegha-park, on his state elephant, bearing his white umbrella of office, attended by musicians, and at the head of the royal troops to receive the holy donation. The elephant trumpeted joyfully, "and as if sprinkled with ambrosia the monarch was full of joy." and great was the thanksgiving of the people.

With the Theras, and soldiers, and beating of tom-toms they returned to the city and to the Thuparama, which was completely covered with flowering kadamba-plants and adari-creepers, appearing one huge bouquet ; the relics were deposited in the shrine, accompanied by marvellous phenomenon, filling the multitude with amazement, and five hundred young men were converted to the faith, and together with the king's younger brother received (Pabbajja).

Following the example of Queen Anita and the thousand women of the royal harem, many women joined them in clamouring to receive the 'Pabbajja,' and thus be entitled to enter into the splendid vihara the king had ordered to be built for the nuns and lay-sisters.

The king consulted the Thera Mahinda, who advised that an envoy be sent to India to invite his sister, the Theri Sanghamitta, to come to Ceylon, as only at the hands of a dignitary of their own sex could the Pabbajja be administered. This sister, Princess Sanghamitta, was prioress of a Buddhist nunnery at Patalipura. Thither the king's minister, Arittha, was sent to urge the Theri to proceed at once to Ceylon to initiate the women of the Island. He also bore a petition to King Asoka to beg of him a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree to glorify Lanka.

This program was wonderfully carried into effect: not only did the Theri consent to go to the women of Ceylon in their need, but she took with her eleven other nuns to help in her work, and she joyously bore to King Tissa's court, a branch of the sacred tree under which Lord Buddha had sat for seven times seven days until he attained perfection.

The story of the transit and advent of the famous Bo-tree, is delightfully told in the Mahavaṁsa, and we have no reason to disbelieve it, in the face of other miraculous stories from all the Bibles of all religions.

This Bodhi-tree (*Fīcus religiosa*) belongs to the family of the fig-tree, the leaves of which have always been sacredly symbolic of the oldest religion in the world, and has been celebrated in song and story adown the centuries.

Following the counsel of his ministers and the community of bhikkus, King Asoka decided that the fair south-branch of the Bodhi-tree should be donated to the Island of Lanka. He at once gave the order that a beautiful gold vase be made to contain it, and gave command that the road leading from the city to the sacred tree be most gorgeously decorated with flags, garlands, and scattered flowers in honour of the occasion.

In the Mahavaṁsa we read, "When the king had received the beautiful vase measuring nine cubits around, five cubits depth, and three cubits across, being of a thickness of eight inches, having the upper edge the size of a young elephant's trunk, and being in radiancy equal to the morning sun" the monarch went forth attended by four hosts of his military, by musicians, priests, and a vast multitude, all led by the blast of trumpets and the beat of drums ; they repaired to the Bodhi-tree, which was decorated by strings of flashing jewels, floating banners and masses of fragrant flowers, being in splendour worthy of the Lord Buddha. Beside thetree was a golden seat adorned with many gems upon which the golden vase was placed.

Having bowed down with uplifted hands in eight places the king, himself, stood upon the seat so as to reach the selected bough, and he uttered this solemn declaration :—"So truly as the great Bodhi-tree shall go hence to the Isle of Lanka, and so truly as I shall stand unalterably firm in the doctrine of Buddha, shall this fair south branch of the great Bodhi-tree, severed of itself, take its place here in this golden vase."

Grasping in his hand a pencil of red arsenic, with a golden handle, he drew around the bough a line, and lo, where the line was drawn the limb severed itself and floated above the precious vase, filled with fragrant earth, and it miraculously sent downward many roots, and planted itself firmly in the vase.

Great was the wonder and rejoicing of the people, salutations came from the devas, and the music of many instruments resounded, as rays of six colours went forth from the Bodhi-tree making the whole world to shine!

A ship was prepared for the transport of the Princess Sanghamitta with her eleven nuns, many nobles and attendants, who were to convey the splendid vase with the Bodhi-tree to Ceylon. It is written that lotus flowers of the five colours blossomed around the ship, and music burst forth upon the air, as they sailed down the Ganges to the sea.

After a passage attended by many marvels and wonders, they arrived in Ceylon to be met by King Tissa, the Thera Mahinda with many priests, and a vast concourse of people, all rejoicing and crying, "*Sadhu ! Sadhu !*"

The highway was richly decorated and a wonderful car waited to bear the sacred tree to Anuradhapura, the royal city.

After fourteen days they reached the Mahamegha garden, and the king himself assisted in depositing the vase in its appointed place.

Space forbids our recounting the miracles attending the planting of the Bodhi-tree. The chief Thera, Mahinda, and the Theri Sanghamitta, with their retinues, as well as King Tissa and his suite, with many visiting nobles, and the entire population of Lanka held a great festival, and made offerings in honour of the sacred tree.

After more than twenty centuries, "This Bo-tree, monarch of the forest, endowed with miraculous powers; has stood for ages in the Mahamegha garden in Lanka, promoting the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants, and propagation of the true religion."

Wonderful as it seems, this tree, that came from a branch of Buddha's own Bo-tree, is still living and yearly putting forth new leaves, and is revered and adored by millions of souls to-day, and it is said to be the most ancient tree in existence.

Whilst there are traditions of the Lord Buddha's having visited Ceylon three times, there is no historic proof that he ever set foot upon the island. It is recorded that on his third visit, "When Buddha came to this country wishing to transform the wicked nagas by his supernatural powers, he planted one foot at the north of the royal city (Anuradhapura), and the other on the top of Adam's Peak." Strange to say, there is an impress of a gigantic foot, about five feet in length, a lotus flower carved on the sole, on the top of the lofty Peak, which is worshipped by Buddhists to-day, while the Hindoos claim that it is the print of god Siva's sacred foot, and the devout Mahomedans aver that it is the foot-print of the father of the human race, Adam. So the followers of three great religions, over eight-hundred-million souls, venerate this mysterious foot-print, and yearly, great bands of pilgrims risk life and limbs in that perilous ascent to do it reverence. Before a pilgrim can ascend the mountain, he must bathe in the sacred pool Sitaganga. This ascent is a most dangerous undertaking, and there is now an iron ladder affixed to the perpendicular wall which renders it safer than formerly; and near the top of the Peak are some old mis-shapen rings of brass and iron riveted to the rocks, which are a source of great controversies.

This worn chain is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and of it there exists a queer legend :—It is believed by the true followers of the Prophet, that the chain was wrought by Adam himself, for, says the legend, when he was hurled from the Garden of Eden he fell upon the peak of Mount Sumana (afterwards re-named Adam's Peak), where he remained standing upon one foot until he had expiated his sin of disobedience to the Most High God; while his temptress, poor Eve, is believed to have fallen near Mecca. They were separated for two hundred years, after which, when their repentance was complete they were reunited by the Angel Gabriel in Ceylon, as being in perfection and beauty next to their lost Paradise.

Ashruf, a Persian poet, affirms that the mysterious chain was affixed to the mountain by Alexander the Great, who voyaged to Ceylon about 330 B.C., so that he and his friends could climb to the peak of Mt. Sumana to enioy the wonderful view. Others claim that in the 13th century, Marco Polo visited the island and had the chain riveted to the mountain-side, which he daringly wished to ascend.

It is an unsolved riddle as to how the chain was ever fastened to that perilous mountain top, and it is altogether a mysterious and fascinating Peak.

Owing to the queer lights and shadows, a strange phenomenon takes place there on every clear morning : the sun arising over the eastern horizon seems to pause and make obeisance three times to the regal mountain, ere going forward upon his daily march across the heavens. Science can perhaps explain the phenomenon.

Another strange and beautiful phenomenon I, myself, witnessed during the afternoon of the full moon in the month of June this year ; it was the exodus of the butterflies, which, I believe, occurs annually at this time. I stood in Hakgala gardens enjoying the wonderful view across the hills, from the look-out house, when great clouds of butterflies swept by; there must have been tens-of-thousands of them,—white, yellow, and some orange-winged, all going steadily in the same direction. It is said that they are the spirits of the dead revisiting old scenes, and that they all go to Adam's Peak, where they dash themselves against a certain rock and die.

Whether the worship should be to Siva, Adam or Buddha, or to the Supreme God, that set-apart, lofty Peak demands veneration, as indeed do all mountains, as Nature's temples to the Great Eternal One.

To follow the adventurous peregrinations of the famous tooth-relic would fill a book ! However, in the ninth year of the reign of King Kitsiri Maiwani, A.D. 311, the sacred relic was first brought to this island by a princess, Hemamala, who in the time of warfare fled from India to Ceylon, accompanied by her brother, Prince Danta, who was disguised as a Brahmin ; for safety the precious tooth of the great Sage was hidden in the coils of the princess's hair.

In the "Annals of the Tooth-Relic," by Dr. Andreas Nell, we read,—"When the king of Lanka was informed of the great news that the sacred Tooth-relic had arrived in the island, intoxicated with joy and thinking of his own unworthiness, the king became unconscious, being fanned by sorrowful servants with the wind of Yak-tails, he got back to consciousness, received the relic, and made great worship with gems, etc.," "He carrying the relic on his head, standing under a white umbrella which was well spread, entered the city of Anuradhapura, abode of the Goddess of Fortune, in a beautifully decorated chariot drawn by a pair of white horses." And he decreed that the relic should be taken round the city once a year in the spring, that it might bless the people, and honour the Buddha.

The first Delada Maligawa (Temple of the Tooth), was erected for its reception within the Thuparama enclosure and there it was enshrined with great rejoicing, and on festival occasions, it was borne forth on the back of a white elephant, kept for that purpose, most splendidly attended, and reverently followed.

During the invasion of the Malabas, the temple was destroyed, but the sacred relic had been hastily removed, and was saved. However, it was at a later date seized and carried back to India ; but the Singhalese king, Parakrama Bahu III, successfully negotiated its ransom and brought it back to Ceylon. He built for it a magnificent temple in Polonnaruwa, at that time the royal city. It is said of this temple in the Mahavaṁsa : "It was like unto the palace of the goddess of beauty, and shone with a lustre so great that all that was delightful on earth seemed to have been gathered together and brought into one place." But alas, this wonderful Delada Maligawa was also looted and destroyed by the vandals of war ; and now, the, *so-called*, Tooth-relic is safely deposited in its own temple in Kandy, encased in silver and gold caskets, and in an inner-casket of precious jewels, and it is enshrined and guarded in reverence by the devotees of Lord Buddha.

The origin of the Perahera festival, still held in Kandy annually, dates from the erection of the first Delada Maligawa in Ceylon.

It is commonly believed that this very interesting festival is of Buddhistic origin, but it is really a very ancient ceremony in commemoration of the birth of god Vishnu. It begins on the day of the new moon, in the month of Esala (July-August), which is supposed to be the natal-day of the god, and it lasts until the day of the full moon of Esala. On this night alone, the treasured Tooth-relic is brought forth from its shrine, and borne on the back of the state elephant, under a rich canopy, and in its golden casket, at the head of the wonderful procession. The great tusked-elephant seems really to realize the honour conferred upon him as, he steps majestically and slowly upon the carpet spread for his august feet. He is followed by the headman of the temple, who, richly dressed, walks as majestically as the lordly elephant ; by musicians ; by the Kandian chiefs, seated on elephants ; by dancers, looking as though they had just sprung from the "Arabian Nights ;" by fire-bearers ; by men—robed in red and gold, their bare brown skin shining like satin—carrying flowers on their heads in brass jars ; by tumblers, and lance-bearers, by near a hundred elephants, with rich howdahs and draperies on their backs ; by tom-tom-beaters and flutists, and by the enthusiastic, worshipful multitude—it is indeed, a most impressive and never-to-be-forgotten spectacle.

Also on this last night of the Perahera, a most interesting custom is observed, known as, "the cutting of the water." The procession marches to the banks of the Mahawileganga river, where a decorated boat is found in readiness for the four Kapuralas of the dewalas, attended by four other men, carrying with them silver swords and the water pitchers of the goddess. They go some distance up the river, and at the break of day, the Kapuralas suddenly strike the water with the swords, and at the same time the four other men discharge from the pitchers the water taken from the river the year previous, filling them afresh at the exact place the swords had passed through. The procession then returns cityward, and the pitchers are deposited in their respective temples, the water to be used in ceremonies until the next Esala festival.

For seven days after the ceremony, the *Wali-yakun*, or devil-dances, are given in the four dewalas by people belonging to the caste of tom-tom-beaters. These dances are symbolic, as well as diabolic, but are doubtless enjoyed by the participants.

In Kandy, with its beautiful hills, and trees, will be seen many priests of the yellow robe, coloured like the heart of the sacred lotus flower; they pass back and forth around the picturesque lake, to their sacred Delada Maligawa, over which countless prayer-flags flutter in the breeze. Within the temple are many statues of the Buddha in the three favourite positions: standing, as the law-giver; sitting in deep meditation; or reclining in peaceful, eternal rest. Doubtless these devout Theras are each seeking to tread the noble Eight-fold Path, and follow the precepts of Gautama, the Buddha. But could the divine Master return from his state of blissful Nirvana, he would hardly recognize, to-day, his simple pure teachings of self-abnegation.

Many are the wrong versions, many are the myths and superstitions that have been interpolated into the teachings o the Compassionate Siddartha,

> "Who wept with all his brothers' tears,
> Whose heart was broken by a whole world's woe."

> "Never shall yearnings torture him, nor sins
> Stain him, nor ache of earthly joy and woes
> Invade his safe, eternal peace; nor deaths
> Nor lives recur. He goes
> Unto Nirvana. He is one with Life,
> Yet lives not. He is blest ceasing to be.
> *Om, mani, padme, Om*! the Dew-drop slips
> Into the shining Sea."

TERESA STRICKLA

AN INDIAN IN ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

One of the earliest instances of an Indian visiting England is furnished by the Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1781 to whom were severally referred the various petitions against the alleged unauthorised assumption of jurisdiction by the Supreme Court of Judicature. In course of their investigations the Committee thought it necessary to be in possession of some authoritative information regarding the usages and customs of the native inhabitants of India because one of their problems was to report on the advisability of the introduction of English law and naturally they were only too glad to record the evidence of a Brahmin who was then in England, 'judging it to be the most authentic source of information.' The man in question was one Hanumant Row[1] who had been sent to England by Raghunath Row with letters to the King and the East India Company.

Unfortunately for us, Hanumant Row or those who framed the questions for him to answer, had no notion that their proceedings would be of abounding interest to posterity a century and a half afterwards, and high hopes are raised at almost every point of the narrative only to be disappointed again and again. Many questions are introduced on which we would be only too glad to get more copious details but suddenly the drift of the questions alters and we unexpectedly come upon a new topic altogether. A more tantalising document it is difficult to find.

Thus at the very outset we are introduced to the very interesting and important question of Raghunath Row's mission to England of which we know practically nothing but we meet with an almost immediate and complete disappointment, for all that can be gleaned from the record is that Hanumant Row was the agent of Raghunath Row and that *possibly* he was accompanied by a Parsee of unknown name. Hanumant Row is next questioned about the obligations of caste in some detail. The really interesting point in this connection comes when he is asked as to whether he had not suffered great difficulties in the journey from his own country to England. Hanumant Row's answer is as follows : "Yes, very great ; that from Bombay to Mocha, though the voyage lasted 27 days, he never ate anything but what he brought with him, such as sweetmeats and preserved fruits, and pumpkins and vegetables, and drank the water he brought with him, and never tasted any food dressed on board the ship—That when he arrived at Judda, the Governor, who is a Mahomedan, examined his baggage, ordered him into confinement in the same house with the Parsees; that the Governor sent him victuals two or three times every day; for two whole days he neither ate nor drank anything; that they were surprised at his not eating, when they had sent him so good a dinner; that after some difficulty he made them understand, by means of a boy, who spoke his language, that being a Brahmin, he could not eat their victuals ; that when he instructed them what his customs required, they furnished him with a tent, and other necessary conveniences for dressing his victuals ; which he then did with his own hand." But this very interesting narrative is broken by a sudden question on the mode of confinement of a debtor prevalent in Hanumant Row's country and we are left quite in the dark as to the rest of Hanumant Row's adventurous journey to England and the evidently painful methods by which he preserved his caste-purity in the way and during his residence in England. Still what little we have is interesting enough. It gives us some idea of the difficulties of travel in those days when we learn that from Bombay it required twenty-seven days to reach Mocha, a port on the south-western extremity of Arabia and no less important is the fact that even at

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[1] In the Report the name is spelt as "Honwontrow." Evidently it should be read Hanumant Row.

Jedda[1] Hanumant Row could find a boy who spoke his language. It also seems probable that from Mocha Hanumant Row took the land route but such conjectures are better left alone.

The rest of Hanumant Row's evidence is concerned mainly with questions of caste usages and, to some extent, with customs regarding recovery of debt and punishment of debtors. Hanumant Row says that it is not usual to confine the debtors but if the person proved refractory perhaps a guard would be placed upon his house. If his debts amounted to more than his effects, distribution would be ordered but the images and ornaments of the place of worship, or of the apartments of the women and children, and the furniture of the house would not be touched. The charges for recovering debt are a fourth part, which makes part of the public revenues. And as regards female debtors Hanumant Row adds that though among the Marathas the *parda* is not so strict as among the Rajputs and the people of Bengal, still a woman-debtor is never compelled to attend the cause in a public court. If she disobeys the preliminary order to satisfy the creditor, the magistrate may send for her, provided she is a woman of character. She is then carried in a covered carriage and received by the magistrate's women and if the magistrate wants to speak to her, there will always be a curtain between them.

Hanumant Row's remarks about caste rules are of a general nature and are therefore too well-known to be repeated here. It also appears that some of his statements in this connection were proving rather troublesome for the interpreter and on that account as well we would better leave them alone.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

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[1] Judda of the Report.

PLATO AND THE BHAGABAD-GITA

(*A Correction*)

To

THE EDITOR,

Calcutta Review

SIR,

In his article on Plato and the Bhagabad-Gita, Prof. Umesh Chandra Bhattacharyya says: "This comparison is instituted only to show that there is an aspect of Plato's philosophy *which European expositors of his system have never recognised*" (*vide* p. 155 of the *Calcutta Review* for August, 1927). This statement is not quite correct. For, Prof. Urwick, in his book "Message of Plato" published about five or six years ago, has pointed out the remarkable analogy that exists between Hindu and Platonic thought.

Yours truly,

S. C. RAY.

Reviews

The Revolt of Asia: The End of the White Man's World Dominance; by Upton Close: New York, 1927; G. P. Putnam's Sons. 325 pp.

Few books are as timely as "The Revolt of Asia." Clearly and convincingly surveying the future course of events in Asia, this volume, seeming so prophetic, is not. Rather it is a keen inspection of *present* signs and conditions, clarifying the view for less discerning eyes.

How often as we read in the newspapers the report of a political event overseas, do we find ourselves surprised at occurrences for which we might have easily been forewarned and prepared. Yet before we notice them they are accomplished facts. Reading Mr. Close's book one has a deep feeling of appreciation for an author who brings back from the Orient, in concise, intelligible form, a political analysis whose later realization might otherwise unpleasantly surprise us.

Upton Close is in a position to write authoritatively. Born in the State of Washington, his interests have led him into adventures across the Pacific and travels throughout the Orient.

The White man's dominance in Asia, we read, is already past. "All Asia has flared into revolt against......his political rule, the imposition of his culture and religion, and most deep-seated of all, his arrogant assumption of social superiority." Mr. Close takes us across Asia from Japan to Palestine, and beyond. Gandhi in India expounds his theories of Swaraj (self-rule) and of mass civil disobedience which "in all history has never failed. Witness the victory of the Christian Church over the Roman Empire."

In China Eugene Chen declares:

> "China, this time, does not fear foreign arms. When the foreign nations approach us for negotiations they must completely separate themselves from the old conception that China is a pacific nation, and therefore subject to either cajolery or bullying. Negotiations will never be entered upon unless they first agree that they never had any right in our country, and that what interests they have were acquired through duress; while we, on our part, will recognize the equity they hold by virtue of the concessions granted by our pusillanimous or helpless forefathers. Liquidation of his equity can then take place in justice."

Mr. Close traces the early history of westerners in China from the ime of Marco Polo; their conquests and acquisitions. Later we see the high tide of Western infiltration, the struggle with Russia and Asia hrown together, and the beginning of the ebb. Particularly interesting is he story of Russo-British rivalry.

> "The congress at Baku in 1922 laid the foundation of Russia's Asiatic policy, when Zinoviev stated to the members that their Asiatic policy should be an awakening of nationalism in that part of the world in order to free them from the English yoke. Russia has followed up this policy with remarkable consistency, and the present events in China are nothing but a consequence of that policy. Agents have been spreading propaganda throughout the country and frequently have pointed out to the Chinese leaders that determined efforts against the British will be as successful as Mustpha Kemal's."

China, it appears, is the keystone of the entire situation, and on her course depends the course of all Asia. A peaceable settlement of the vexing question of "foreign rights" will have a favourable reaction in the rest of Asia. A military settlement will have a correspondingly unfavourable reaction. That the West is no longer dealing with a yielding, disjointed, China is brought out by recent events, and particularly the apparent backing-down in British policy. According to T. V. Soong, prominent American-educated financial administrator of the Cantonese party, 'foreigners are quite wrong in affecting to consider how much of China's rights they can afford to restore. The question is, now that China has proved she can be mistress in her own house any moment she wishes, how much shall she generously allow the foreigners to retain of the privileges llegally assumed here in the past?

To sum up, Mr. Close's conclusions are eightfold:—

> "First, Western control of Asia for profit, political or commercial, is discredited and in collapse.
>
> "Second, the general and conscious demand of Asian peoples for control of their own destiny nullifies the white man's responsibility for their welfare.
>
> "Third, legitimate Western interests and properties and lives of individuals stand a fair chance of protection under the native sovereignties in prospect.
>
> "Fourth, the Asian nations have lost their fear of the white man and are carrying forward their programme resolutely.

"Fifth, the Western Powers, with the sole exception of America, frankly lack the ability to resist Asia's revolt. They may accede either as "good losers" or in sullenness, but they must accede.

"Sixth, America is the only power that may make resistance of the white race to the ending of its world domination possible.

"Seventh, attempts to check the Asian movements by military demonstrations work the opposite result.

"Eighth, Asia's movement thus far is entirely directed against the Westerner on Asian shores. There is not the bud, thus far, of an offensive against the white man in his own countries. It would be decades before a new Yellow Peril could be born, even in thought."

H. M. Bratter

Anthroposophy in India, by Hans Köster, published by Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1927.

This little book by Dr. Köster we regard as symptomatic of the present age. We are passing at the present day through a reaction against the excessive rationalism of the nineteenth century. The post-Kantian school of German idealism, as well as the English neo-Hegelians, by their over-emphasis of the rational element in the universe, led to a revolt against the measured gait and perfect equipoise of classical thinking. The result is the superabundant crop of anti-intellectualistic theories which is such a characteristic feature of the philosophy of the present day. The growth of pragmatism and voluntarism and the hold which the philosophy of Bergson has upon men's minds clearly show that a need is felt for the assertion of the artistic or romantic phase of life.

Anthroposophy is one such assertion. As our author puts it, "anthroposophy affirms that there are in man hidden and dormant forces that can be awakened." Anthroposophy does not discard Reason but only shows it its due place. Anthroposophy maintains that the logically precise and mathematically trained mind is a possession worth preserving, since it embodies a technique which enables the thinker to become conscious of his own Self." What Anthroposophy in fact aims at is a perfectly well-balanced mind. Thus, Dr. Rudolf Steiner, the founder of Anthroposophy, points out as the three great dangers which a man must avoid, "exuberant violence of will, sentimental emotionalism and cold loveless struggle for wisdom."

Anthroposophy thus, unlike other forms of mysticism does not want to do away with Reason. Herein lies its essential unity with Indian mysticism, for Indian mysticism does not know the distinction between Reason and Feeling upon which Western mysticism is based. The verse

यत् सांख्यैः प्राप्यते स्थानं तद्योगैरपि गम्यते ।
एकं सांख्यञ्च योगञ्च यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥

expresses exactly the attitude of Indian mysticism. This is where Indian mysticism shows its superiority over Western mysticism. Western mysticism lives, as it were, in a glass house. The least touch of Reason destroys it. Indian mysticism is made of a much sterner stuff and it has nothing to fear from Reason.

The author believes that " the hoary knowledge of the East may yet show the way to the West " and that Anthroposophy will be able to meet the present crisis in the thought of the West as well as of the East. We may not find it easy to accept the latter part of this statement but that the first part of the statement conveys a real truth we fully believe.

Likewise it is a deep insight into the real nature of the problem of the East and the West which makes the author say, "The problem does not face simple man, but it addresses man in man, the creative understanding man, Ardhanārīśwara within him." " To understand, to penetrate the great questions that concern the two main trends of human civilization, it is insufficient to justify the one in view of the other, to force the one upon the other, or to arrive at a meaningless compromise. It must be understood that this vital question in order to be answered—and answered it must be—addresses the deep Man in man...."

The author is to be congratulated upon the success with which he has presented the main ideas of Anthroposophy, the new mystical movement started by Dr. Rudolf Steiner, and especially, upon the deep insight which the book reveals into the inner meaning of Indian mysticism.

S. K. MAITRA

Nirvana, By G. C. Ghosh, C.I.E., Darsana-Sastri, Kavyaratna, Honorary Fellow, Calcutta University.

In this book we find a new exposition of an old belief. The author is a deeply religious man and an earnest seeker after truth. *Nirvana* was the cherished goal of the *Rishis* of old, and its true meaning and nature are here presented in an admirable form. *Nirvana* is not annihilation, for the soul has neither beginning nor end. It is not the extinction of self, but rather "the finding of the real self" by becoming one with the Eternal Spirit. It is that state of ecstasy in which the soul enjoys perfect peace,

"When the lover and the Beloved,
The redeemed and the Redeemer,
Become united once again,
Enter into everlasting joy."

The seeker after *Nirvana* does not shun the world, but lives

"The life which is life indeed,
Deeply entrenched in Divinity,
Bursting out in good deed."

The truly religious man devotes himself to "the service of man and the love of God." He practises, at one and the same time, "Karma-yoga and Sanyasa both." He realises that

"To know the Father as love
Is to love as He loves."

The author's religious zeal is equalled by his breadth of vision. He has no faith in "the tattered creeds of the world" which hold the soul in bondage. With him religion is

"But the product of the heart let free,
That loves truth, goodness, and infinity."

Not theology, but piety, is his aim. To a real devotee, Brahman, Jehovah, God, Allah, Ahur Mazda and Zeus are the same.

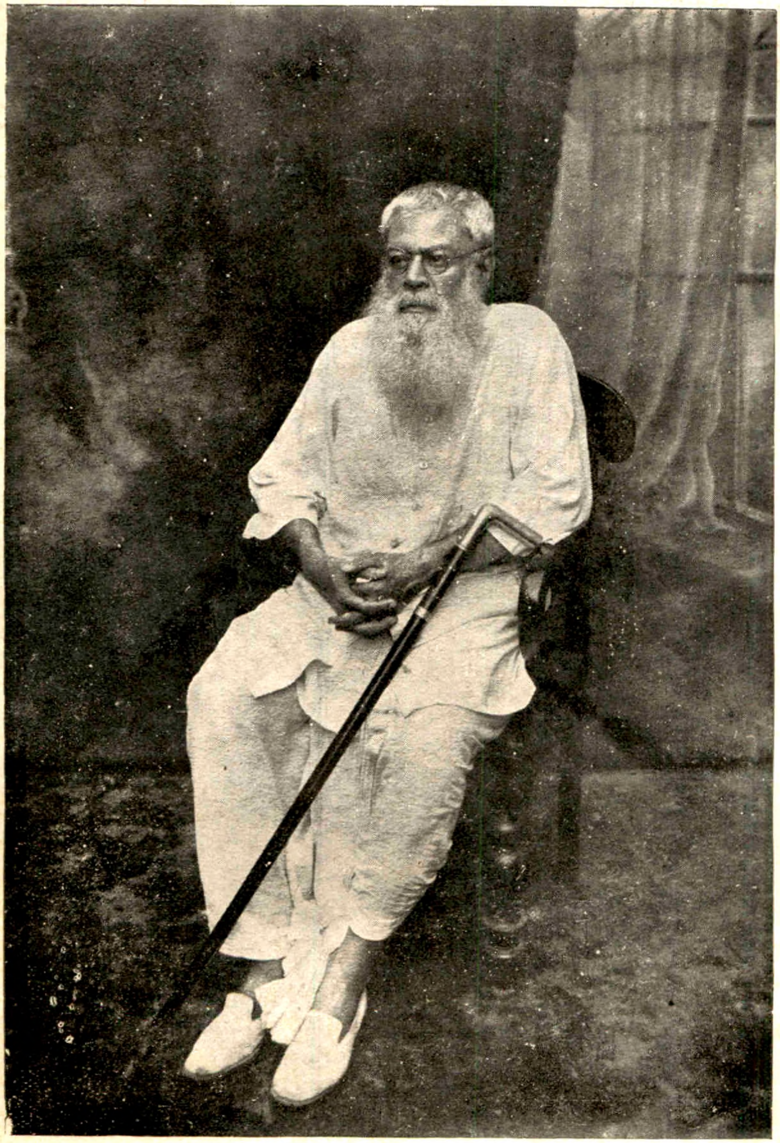
This little work produces an ennobling and elevating effect on the mind, and we trust it will be widely read.

P. N. B.

Ourselves

THE LATE PROFESSOR HENRY STEPHEN.

In the death of Professor Henry Stephen on the 1st September, 1927, Bengal has lost the services of one of her truest of adopted sons, the University has lost the services of a scholarly administrator, the students in the Departments of English and Philosophy have lost a great and an acknowledged master and the student community of Bengal has lost a philanthropist whose secret charities have enabled many a scholar to reach his desired goal. Born in 1848, in a tiny little Scotch village, Henry Stephen dedicated his whole life to the cause of education in Bengal. Professor in the Duff College in 1884, a professor in the amalgamated Scottish Churches College in 1907, a University Professor of English Language and Literature in 1914, Henry Stephen preferred all along the quiet dignity of a teacher and never aspired after executive honours, not even the Principalship of institutions to which he gave thirty years of his life. Doctor Stephen's knowledge of philosophy was great. His knowledge of classical language and literature was greater. He combined in his person the scientific interest of a botanist with the delight of an astronomer and he felt equally at ease in expounding the problems of life here below and in the great hereafter. In January, 1922, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had the proud privilege of conferring on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University; his recommendation for a Knighthood still adorns the Record Room of an unimaginative bureaucracy. Dr. Stephen enjoyed the affection and reverence of four generations of students in Bengal. He claimed the allegiance of the *Calcutta Review* as its first Editor-in-chief. He enjoyed the confidence of his colleagues and he knew how to honour them with his confidence. The Professorship vacated by him will be filled



ADHARCHANDRA MUKHERJEE

(Born July 18, 1857 : Died August 13, 1927) up soon. His much-accustomed Fellowship in the University will go to some fortunate recipient but his death has created a void which, we fear, will never be filled.

* * *

THE LATE MR. ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE.

Death has claimed yet another toll from the ranks of our veteran educationists in Bengal, in the person of Adharchandra Mookerjee. Born in 1857, Adharchandra Mookerjee entered the fascinating domain of education as a Professor of History and Logic in the General Assembly's Institution in 1884. He rendered devoted and faithful service to the institutions that the cultural mission and the religious fervour of Scotland endowed in Calcutta. Adharchandra Mookerjee was elected an Ordinary Fellow of this University by its graduates in 1897 and maintained his position in the election of 1904 and continued to enjoy his Fellowship till his death on the 13th August, 1927—a span of thirty long years. Adharchandra Mookerjee's regularity in the attendance of the meetings of the Senate and the Faculty of Arts, his work in various capacities as a member of various Boards of Studies, as one of the Paper-Setters and Head-Examiners in History have received official recognition, but the greatest service which he rendered to this University was his gift of twenty thousand rupees to the cause of original research—a legacy which years of toil and husbandry enabled him to dedicate to his *alma mater*. His "Short History of the Indian People," prescribed for the Matriculation Examination of this University for the last quarter of a century, may lie buried with the author but Adharchandra Mookerjee, we are sure, will find a niche yet in the pleasant recollection of generations of students and his name as a historian will be handed down from sire to son.

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THE LATE MR. UMESHCHANDRA GHOSH.

We deeply regret to inscribe one more name on the roll of our illustrious dead. Umeshchandra Ghosh died on the 10th August, 1927, in his Calcutta residence. He started life as Principal of the Victoria College, Narail, and served the University Law College for about a dozen years in the capacity of a Professor. The seductions of an attractive professional career at the Bar could not allure him away from the domain of education and Mr. Ghosh remained an educationist till his death. Our respectful condolences to his eldest son Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., and his brothers.

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SPECIAL CONVOCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

A special Convocation was held at the Senate House on the 27th July, 1927, to confer degrees on our graduates going abroad. The number of graduates attending the Convocation was eight. We print here below the speech of the Vice-Chancellor:

"Gentlemen, this being a special Convocation intended for the benefit of those of our graduates who want to proceed abroad for further study, I shall address my words solely to these young members of our University.

You are getting better chances in life than your comrades but at the same time you are undertaking heavier responsibilities than those who are staying at home. In foreign parts you will be rightly regarded as the representatives of this ancient seat of learning. You have not, therefore, the private individual's freedom to live the life that he pleases. Your speech and behaviour, your intellectual progress and moral character will determine in the eyes of the foreigners among whom you will live, the high or low repute in which this University will be held by them. In your persons your country, your race, your former teachers, will be on their trial before foreign judges. There will be many products of other Universities, European and American, among whom you will be thrown and with whom you will inevitably stand a comparison day after day. I know that it is a very heavy responsibility for young shoulders to bear. But I am confident that you will rise to the height of this appeal of your country, and will never consent to shame your fatherland in your persons. Let the wisdom of the Calcutta University be justified of her children.

But it is not only that you are gaining fresh opportunities of life by being sent abroad for study. It is not merely that you are going to stand forth as our intellectual representatives in foreign lands. Your country has a greater claim on you. It is your duty to acquire those arts, those processes and those branches of human knowledge, which are not taught in India, or cannot at present be taught here to such a high standard as in Europe or America. You will thus be like the daring explorers and merchant adventurers of 16th-century England who opened new trade relations with far-off lands and brought back rich cargoes of hitherto unknown foreign products to their native land. In this way you will have to enrich and invigorate the intellectual life of India and connect her with the ever-moving, ever-progressing, outer world of thought and invention. If our young graduates go to foreign countries inspired by such a spirit and try to live up to this ideal, they will be only paying back to the land of their birth a part of the debt they owe to her. Their foreign travels, when devoted to such an aim, will not only benefit them personally but advance their country also. It is only by means of a constant succession of young, ardent, and patriotic scholars sent abroad that we can save India's life and thought from being locked up in the placid backwaters of a stationary civilisation.

If India is to take her rightful place among the creators of human thought she must constantly know what the other great nations are doing and how they are doing it. She must know in what respects she can become a creditor nation in the modern world. Her sons trained abroad will bring this message to her on their return; they will naturally be the chief agents of her intellectual advance on these modern lines.

I pray that your hearts may be supported and strengthened in the midst of the trials and temptations, the hardships and dangers inevitable in foreign lands by a reflection on the high mission that is for you in the near future. In that mission you have our hearty wishes for your success."

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MR. JADUNATH SARKAR AT BOMBAY.

Our Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, was invited to deliver his Convocation Address before the Bombay University in August last. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society honoured Mr. Sarkar by conferring the Campbell Memorial Medal on him. He is the eighth recipient of this distinction which, we understand, was conferred also on Professor D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University before. In the language of Sir Leslie Wilson, the Governor of Bombay, the Address was encouraging and enlightened. We quote here below the Address :

I

" This year the University of Bombay completes the seventieth year since its foundation. It is, therefore, a point at which we can conveniently pause and examine the record of the University's work during one compact epoch, covering the full term of a man's life.

Forty years after the old order in Maharastra had perished amidst the clash of arms, the foundations of a more glorious and enduring order were laid by the creation of the University of Bombay. The grandsons of those who had conquered at Kirkee and Koregaon, Ashta and Mehidpur, threw open to the losing side the treasury of the arts and sciences of the victors and thus laid the foundation of a truer empire than arms can achieve,—an empire built upon cultural affinity, intellectual co-operation, and commonness of ideals.

II

If it is true that knowledge is power, then we are bound also to admit that the creators of new knowledge, the makers of original research, must become the masters of those who are mere borrowers of knowledge. So long as our Universities were content with merely importing to India and diffusing among our people knowledge of various kinds which had originated in Europe,—we were intellectually a debtor nation; our best writers were mere imitators or translators. Therefore, if we wish to be self-reliant in art and science, if we wish to be independent in things of the mind, we must qualify ourselves to be givers and not merely takers; we must create and not merely import; we must aspire to be a creditor nation and not eternal intellectual beggars.

If the ever-flowing fountain of research and invention be confined to the European countries and never brought to India, then India will always remain the slave of Europe. In every generation we shall lag behind Europe; we shall be always using the arts and the arms which Europe discarded fifty years ago and holding theories which were proved obsolete there two or three generations earlier. Not only a state of war, but even a temporary obstruction of transport, or the natural desire of foreign inventors to reserve the first fruits of their research to people who can give something in return, may stop the supply of the newest knowledge and the newest appliances of civilisation from Europe to us, and then India will remain helpless and weak.

From such a degrading, such a servile condition we can raise ourselves only if we can create an independent spring-head of knowledge and art in our midst and thus enable our countrymen to become the peers of the Europeans in research and discovery.

III

Research, or the original investigation of truth in any branch of art or science, is not a luxury or superfluous decoration in the educational world. It is the indispensable condition of the best type of University teaching and of the highest development of the human intellect.

I have been all my life a college teacher, and for the last thirty years I have ceaselessly tried to do my little in the investigation of Indian history. You will permit me to appeal to this twofold experience in impressing upon you the importance of original research not only for the sake of maintaining India's self-respect in the assembly of nations, but also for ensuring the best quality of teaching to our ordinary students.

Nobody who has not investigated truth for himself, nobody who has not gone through the patient and arduous discipline of original research, can critically judge the information contained in the text-books and understand its real significance; still less can he become a source of inspiration and guidance to his pupils. The mere transmitter of other people's knowledge, the lecturer who simply repeats the text-books, is an intellectual parasite; his mind has no discriminating power, no vitality of its own. Every printed word is to him equally authoritative. On the other hand, the research scholar is an explorer of a new realm of thought. He has grappled with unknown difficulties and overcome them. He has personally handled the raw materials out of which truth is deduced. Thus his mind has acquired a higher discipline and he has gained a more intimate vision of truth than is possible for ordinary men. The secrets of science and philosophy are to him living realities, not catch-words borrowed from others and mechanically repeated. He can instinctively distinguish between the true and the false and correctly estimate the comparative value of different kinds of evidence. No University can discharge its functions properly unless it has this highest type of teachers among its agents.

IV

In support of this view, I cite the testimony of a Lord Chancellor of England who also distinguished himself as one of her most successful military organisers. Lord Haldane, in the final Report of the Royal Commission on the London University, truly observes:

" It is in the best interests of the University that the most distinguished of its professors should take part in the teaching of the undergraduates. It is the personal influence of the man doing original work in his subject which inspires belief in it, awakens enthusiasm, gains disciples. All honest students gain inestimably from association with teachers who show them something of the working of the thought of independent and original minds. As Helmholtz says, 'Any one who has once come into contact with one or more men of the first rank, must have had his whole mental standard altered for the rest of his life'...University teaching aims, not so much at filling the mind of the student with facts and theories as at stimulating him to mental effort. He gains an insight into the conditions under which original research is carried out. He is able to weigh evidence, to follow and criticise argument and put his own value on authorities.''

V

I may also point out that original research of the right type has an ennobling influence on character. He who has gained a vision of the secrets of nature and of the human mind, by his own efforts, is fearless in accepting truth; he cannot be content with popular superstitions, social conventions and political catch-words. Research workers form a brotherhood of truth-seekers all over the world, who rise above national jealousies, racial prejudices, and communal differences. The pure stream of truth discovered in her loftiest original source like the heaven-descended Ganges of Hindu mythology, washes away all impurities of the human mind.

In this quest of truth, there must be constant progress; there is no finality, no pause even. But this fact should not deter us from it. If eternal vigilance be the price of political liberty, it is no less truly the price of national efficiency, and that price we must be prepared to pay.

Such is the imperative need of original research in the modern world. And in the promotion of research a University can do what no private individual, however rich or industrious, can accomplish. The University must build up a library of the best books and most learned journals in all related branches of study, and a laboratory complete in scientific apparatus. It must assemble under its roof the master-workers in as many branches of study as it can and ensure their frequent meeting together and co-operation, each scholar supplying from his own branch the needs of the others, for no specialist can be the master of more than a few subjects, but requires light to be thrown on his special branch of study from all points of view. Therefore, the most fruitful and valuable research work has been done by those Universities where the professors regard themselves as a brotherhood of seekers after truth, working in concert and holding frequent consultation with one another. A place where each teacher comes only in his appointed hour, addresses his particular class of students and then goes away, is a lecture institute and not a University in any sense of the term.

It is only a central authority like a University that can prevent waste through the overlapping of efforts by two or more private persons carrying on the same line of research in isolation from one another. It can supply the most expert guidance and full bibliographies so as to put the workers on the right track from the very outset, instead of leaving them to blunder on to truth. And it can put libraries and laboratories to the most economical use by a wise and far-sighted division of resources. The lack of cohesion has often nullified our private efforts in the past. The organised public pursuit of research will yield better fruit.

These are the necessary conditions of research, and though they cannot be a substitute for individual genius in the worker, they can help genius to produce the best results.

In this appeal I have drawn on my life's experience in the original investigation of history. But let me assure you that scientific research needs organisation and co-operative effort in the same degree as historical inquiry. It is even more important to us from the economic point of view. The immense natural resources of our country are running to waste for want of the scientific exploration and utilisation of them on modern lines. Scientific research, if carried on here as wisely and as strenuously as in Germany, would immensely increase the wealth of our country and amply repay the expenditure of State funds.

Research is not an impossibility in India, it need not be a sham here. There are two men still in our midst who have proved that India can give to Europe in science and philosophy truths of the highest value to mankind. What a Jagadis Chandra Bose or Rabindra Nath Tagore has done, their fellow-countrymen can do if they get the necessary opportunity.

VI

It is for that opportunity, it is for the organisation and endowment of research at the University of Bombay, that I plead with your

Government and the leading men of your Presidency. If the plans are laid in advance with care and forethought and modified from time to time, in the light of experience, then there is no reason why the pursuit of research should be a very costly undertaking or that it should exhaust the financial resources required for other branches of education. In this Presidency you have races of people not inferior to any other in India in intelligence, industry and devotion to ideals. You have a large number of sound scholars of the old type and even some research students working on a small scale and in isolation from one another. In the wealth and variety of historical, linguistic and ethnological materials of all kinds,—as well as in the natural resources on which the scientist must work,—you are surpassed by no province in India and equalled by few. The first thing needed now is your full admission of the truth that your University will stagnate if you do not henceforth embark on the new policy of the advancement of human knowledge by direct research. The second thing needful is the organisation of that research.

For this latter work, the wisest guidance must be sought, regardless of its cost. It is cheaper in the long run to consult the best experts than to launch on a scheme framed by amateurs and arm-chair theorists. Above all, you require a devoted and sagacious leader to give unity to your activities, overcome the initial difficulties as they arise from day to day, and pursue the ideal with unceasing vigour. Your Legislature must be convinced that the endowment of research is a national duty and it will be easy to persuade the Legislature if your enlightened public set an example by private benefactions to the University of Bombay, as the public have done to Calcutta and Lucknow, Benares and Aligarh. The State grants to these Universities are very large, and Bombay's case for a similar generous treatment by the State is equally strong.

The public may rest assured that with so many shrewd business men among the leaders of your society and strict public watch over the University's affairs, it will be impossible in Bombay at least for any fraud to be practised in the name of high research, or that full value in the form of work done will not be secured in return for the money that you may spend on original investigation by your students and teachers. I know that there is a prevailing distrust about the genuineness and real value of much that passes for research in India. But it will disappear if your University is wise enough to maintain a reasonable proportion in the distribution of its energies and finances, so that a sound general education is enforced in its colleges and at the same time original research is promoted at the centre of the University on a few branches which are chosen with careful reference to your men and money power. Do not attempt too many things at the same time, do not attempt what is beyond your means, and above all do not neglect and ruin the foundations of your educational system in the attempt to gild and beautify its roof and dome.

VII

The intellectual resurrection of India is the supreme ideal of the Indian nationalist. And in realising this ideal, our Universities must play the leading part. This is a duty which they cannot any longer ignore without failing to justify their existence in the changed world of to-day. They must no longer be glorified schools, mere workshops for turning out clerks and school masters, mechanics and overseers, translators and copyists. They must in future add to the world's stock of knowledge. They must achieve intellectual Swadeshi, instead of clothing our people's minds with garments imported from Europe. Is political Swaraj possible, can Swaraj last if given by others, in a country which eternally looks up to foreign lands for all additions to human knowledge, for all new discoveries in medicine and science, for all new inventions in the mechanical arts and the accessories of civilised life, and for every leap forward of the human mind in its quest of truth ?

Your beautiful city is rightly called the Gate of India. May it establish its claim to be remembered as the gate through which new light dawns on India, nay more, passes beyond our shores to illuminate and vivify the world outside! Such is the true Indian patriot's vision. Let the Bombay public make it a reality.

To the new graduates of this University, I have only a short message to deliver: never forget your rich inheritance, never be unworthy of the glorious opportunity which the teaching and traditions of this University have given to you. Remember that your names are inscribed as the latest recruits in the same golden book which enshrines the names of Telang and Ranade, Bhandarkar and Rajwade, and see that your life and conduct are worthy of such a noble brotherhood. By the education you have received, the treasuries of Eastern and Western wisdom have been freely opened to you. Consider your past life as only a preparation for further self-improvement and the achievement of a higher destiny for your individual selves and your countrymen in general. The world of action seldom gives its highest prizes to the most gifted in intellect or the purest in character. But that need not make us repine, that need not make us give up the struggle. The heroic soul seeks only opportunities for exerting itself, for daring, and for making its endeavour, and does not look for the material fruits of that endeavour. Let the graduates of the University arm themselves against the world with this eternal lesson of the Bhagabat Gita."

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KAMALA LECTURES.

The Senate of the Calcutta University appointed Mrs. Sarojini Naidu Kamala Lecturer for the year 1927. The subject of the lectures would be "Ideals of Indian Womanhood."

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RESULT OF THE PRELIMINARY LAW EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,349 of whom 364 passed, 597 failed, one was expelled and 387 were absent. Of the successful candidates 15 were placed in Class I. In this connection the following tabular statement may prove interesting :

Year.	No. of candidates appeared.	No. of candidates passed.
1926	2,315	908
1925	2,228	886
1924	1,929	774
1923	1,569	624
1922	1,404	711
1921	1,616	779
1920	1,933	733

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DATES OF DIFFERENT EXAMINATIONS.

We give here below the dates for the various University Examinations :

Law :

Preliminary—Tuesday, the 3rd January, 1928.
Intermediate—Monday, the 9th January, 1928.
Final—Monday, the 16th January, 1928.

Medical :

Preliminary Scientific M.B. and Final M.B.—Thursda the 10th November, 1927.

First M.B.—Monday, the 21st November, 1927.

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PROFESSOR S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

We are glad to note that Professor S. Radhakrishnan, President of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts, has been invited by Lord Goschen, Governor of Madras, to deliver the first Convocation Address of the Andhra University in December, 1927.

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GURUPRASANNA GHOSE SCHOLARSHIP.

The Guruprasanna Ghose Scholarship for the year 1927 has been awarded to Mr. Harendranath Ray, M.Sc., a lecturer in the Department of Zoology in the Calcutta University.